

DECEMBER, 1921

Labor Age

20¢
a Copy



British Labor
Solves the
Housing
Problem



Piece Work
vs.
Week Work



Wasting
Man Power



Free the
I. W. W.'s



Injunctions

*Albert DeSilver and
John P. Frey*

The Big Cloak Strike

Benjamin Schlesinger

The Howat Case

*Ellis Searles
and Alexander Howat*

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ENCOURAGEMENT—THE INJUNCTION STUDY

LEONARD ABBOTT, editor of "Current Opinion," writes of the first issue of LABOR AGE: "I like it, and think that it fills a real gap in current periodical literature." Similar messages of encouragement have come from many well-known writers and critics. Also, from the rank and file and leadership of labor.

Nothing gives a new-born enterprise the strength and energy to do its job more than a hearty welcome of this kind. LABOR AGE is certain now, more than before, that there exists a real need at this time for a publication of the sort it aims to be—one that will present all the facts concerning the American labor movement as they are, uninfluenced by the interest of any party or section.

* * *

The injunction is the most powerful weapon used by the employers in their nation-wide drive against labor. As it has come to be used more and more by the courts it threatens the very possibility of organizing the workers at all. If decisions such as that of Judge Anderson are not made impossible, the American laboring man and

woman face the possibility of working under such conditions and at such wages as capital in its sweet mercy chooses to grant.

The big question, which is put up squarely to each and every American worker, is: How can the injunction be made useless as a weapon for the employers, both in the courts and out?

LABOR AGE has joined with a number of active trade unions to make possible a thorough study of the legal aspects of the injunction and the tactics which have been used to defeat it. This study is to be made by the Labor Bureau, and will cover the history of the labor injunction, its use up to date, and just what can be done against it. When it is completed it will be a source book to which labor can turn for information in its anti-injunction fight. LABOR AGE will publish the essential results of this study, immediately upon its completion. We are confident it will prove to be one of the opening shots in a successful attack on the arbitrary power which the injunction against labor represents.

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Labor Age



The Issues in the Big Cloak Strike

By BENJAMIN SCHLESINGER

For the first time in a big strike, labor turned the tables on the employers, when the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union obtained an injunction on November 29 against the Manufacturers' Protective Association, restraining the association from inducing its members to break their labor contracts. The strikers are now contemplating a suit for damages against the employers under the famous Danbury Hatters' decision, which upheld a fine against the workers because of their alleged injury to the employers! The issues involved in this unique strike are set out briefly in the following article.

THE present labor conflict in the cloak industry, involving directly in New York 60,000 workers and in Philadelphia and Chicago 10,000 more,—who, with their families and dependents constitute a population of over a quarter of a million,—was precipitated on November 14 by the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers' Protective Association of New York, when they adopted a resolution binding every member of the Association to reintroduce the piece system of work in their factories, to increase the hours of labor and to reduce wages.

The workers had had no part in bringing on the fight. On the contrary, they have done everything in their power to avert it. To be sure, this is not the first time that the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has been compelled to wage a defensive fight against these employers. This is the fourth time that the Manufacturers' Protective Association has broken its agreement with the Union, the first dating back to 1915, when it abrogated the collective agreement known as the "protocol of peace" which came into being in 1910, largely through the efforts of Justice Brandeis. Later, in 1916, it broke the contract which was reached after prolonged efforts through a Council of Conciliation appointed by the late Mayor Mitchel, of New York, and headed by Dr. Felix Adler.

The Workers' Struggle Against Piece Work

The piece-work system was abolished and the forty-four hour work week was established in the cloak industry in the Spring of 1919 by an agreement which was accepted by both sides after careful discussion and numerous conferences. This agreement was for three years and was to run until June 1, 1922. The manufacturers, however, abrogated it in August, 1920, after they had refused to abide by a decision of an impartial special committee appointed by Governor Smith, granting an increase in the scale of wages. Later, however, on June 3, 1921, relations were renewed, and as the employers had complained of "inadequate productivity" under the piece-work system, and in order to ascertain and, if possible, to suggest a remedy for these alleged difficulties, a supplementary agreement was signed creating a Joint Bi-Partisan Commission for the double purpose of passing on disputes about the adequacy of production on the part of individual workers and to evolve proper tests for judging the sufficiency of production.

The Employers Break Their Agreement

The clauses referring to the duties and functions of the Joint Commission in the agreement read as follows:

"its task shall be to study shop and labor production records and other available data with a view of working out measures

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which would tend to bring up the productivity of the workers to a point fair and proper to both sides.

"The Commission shall report once a month, and on November 1, 1921, it shall make a final report of its activities and findings before a joint committee of the representatives of the Association and the Unions, and shall accompany such report with complete and appropriate recommendations."

Nevertheless, instead of meeting the representatives of the Union on November 1, 1921, as agreed upon, and proceeding to take up with them in conference the findings of the Joint Commission, the Protective Association decided to break the agreement and decreed piece work and longer hours to begin in all the shops of its members on November 14. The Union was at no time officially even notified of this step which constituted as flagrant a breach of an industrial pact as a labor organization was ever confronted with.

The Horror of the Sweating System

In promulgating their order, the manufacturers characterized the proposed changes as a "readjustment of industrial standards." To the workers in the cloak industry these proposed changes, however, in addition to the fact that they were designed to be brought about through a breach of a solemn agreement, have a radically different meaning. They mean a total destruction of all humane standards in the industry; a return to a sweatshop. The argument that the cloak shops in New York City have become cleaner during the last few years and that a return to the sweatshop is impossible at this time because of the existence in the industry of a Joint Board of Sanitary Control, is worthless. It must be kept in mind that unclean floors, unsanitary plumbing and poor lights represented only one feature of the sweatshop in the garment trades. Its chief menace lay in the speed-up system of piece work and the manner in which the workers were sweated and driven under that system; the long hours and the mad rush during the few weeks of the height of the season which has furnished a greater number of applicants to tuberculosis sanatoria from the garment trades than from any other industry.

The employers charge all the workers in the cloak industry of New York with slacking and "soldiering on the job." They have declared that the 60,000 workers employed by them are thieves and swindlers and they cannot, therefore, be employed by them any longer as week workers. When the Union demanded proof for these slanderous allegations, all that could be furnished against the workers was one individual case of a man who was discharged for slacking and whose discharge was later sustained by all the members



Jt. Bd. Sanitary Control

Made by I. P. E. U., 546

THE OLD SWEATSHOP

With its bad sanitation and uncleanness

of the Joint Commission. Not another case could be found in the entire industry to substantiate the charges of the employers. Despite this, they had the temerity to come out with a demand for piece work on the ground that the workers have been stealing from them.

The Three Big Issues

To sum up: There are three paramount issues involved in this great strike: First, the validity of industrial agreements and the grim determination of the Union to bind the employers to a signed pact, to the upholding of which they had given their pledge. Before any negotiations with the Employers' Association can be begun, the Association must, therefore, rescind its resolution for piece work and longer hours and must restore the agreement in the industry which is to run its full term until June, 1922.

Secondly, the present defensive fight for week work is not only an economic conflict. There is a moral issue involved in it, and the cloakmakers will not and can not return to piece work unless they brand themselves as dishonest and irresponsible shirkers.

The Union's Life at Stake

And a still greater issue than piece work and all its destructive consequences, is the issue of the existence of the Union. No one with a spark of intelligence can miss the point that the Employers' Association is, first and foremost, aiming at the destruction of the Cloakmakers' Union itself. The workers are aware of it, and because the issues are so clearly drawn and so big, the chances of the employers winning this fight are nil. Our Union will come out of this storm and stress even stronger and more virile than before.

Piece Work—Opening Wedge to the Sweatshop

By J. M. BUDISH

ON October 28th, the New York *Times* took issue editorially with the contention of President Benjamin Schlesinger, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, that a return to piece work would mean a return to the sweat shop. In an attempt to prove their case, they took out of their context several passages from "The New Unionism in the Clothing Industry" written by Mr. Soule and myself.

The passages cited give no support to the contention of the *Times*. There is no question in my mind that the piece-work system in the needle industry lends itself to the development of the sweatshop. This can readily be seen by consideration of the social and industrial structure of these trades. The clothing industries demand very little fixed capital. In all the industries of the country, the capital invested in 1914 was 27 per cent greater than the sum spent for material. In the clothing industries, on the other hand, the amount of capital was 15 per cent less than the cost of materials, including power. Ability to organize a shop in the garment trades on a few hundred dollars necessarily results in an abnormal development of small establishments. In 1914, only 12 factories in the men's and women's industry employed more than 1,000 workers, while 2,219 establishments employed from 1 to 5 persons each, with a total of but 7,553 workers! Such small shops cannot be run on the basis of modern, efficient industrial methods. If they are to survive, despite their wasteful methods, they must become mere sweatshops.

The Sweatshop Menace in Piece Work

The menace of the sweatshop is ever present, so long as the piece-work system lasts. In 1910, after a general strike, the International Ladies' Garment Workers gained complete control of the ladies' garment industry. The piece-work system continued until 1919. Advanced Summaries of the Census of Manufacture of that year show that the number of establishments in the women's clothing industry increased during the five year period from 1914 to 1919 by 35.6 per cent (from 5,564 to 7,545), while the total number of manufacturing establishments increased only 5 per

cent. In other words, the number of units in the ladies' garment trade increased seven times as fast as those in the average American industry! This is surely an unhealthy condition.

The New York *Times*, in its editorial, admits that one of the alleged evils against piece work should be seriously considered. "In highly seasonal industries such as the manufacture of ladies' garments, it (the piece-work system) tends to intensify overwork in rush times and goes to increase the periods of unemployment already too long." The shortening of the busy season under piece work is unavoidable, not only because of excessive overtime in rush seasons, but still more because piece work actually diminishes the volume of work done in the trade. Under this system the worker is likely to regard excessive overwork and even inhuman speeding up as but another opportunity to increase his earnings.

The "Speeding-Up" Illusion

The illusion thus created that abnormal hours and speeding up benefit the worker makes it possible for the employers to finish the season's work at almost any time. Since the caprices of fashion play such a large part in the garment trades—a single shop may have many hundreds of styles in one season—it is quite natural for department stores and other large buyers to leave their orders for the last moment, in the belief that they will be attended to at short notice. Thus the bulk of the work is done during the very short busy season, and the tendency is to do little work during the remainder of the year. The business world adapts itself to this condition. Consequently even such business as could have been secured at other times, and for which there is a real market, is neglected and irreparably lost. The business left for the slow season is generally so regulated that the large legitimate trade doesn't bother about it, but turns the lesser orders to small outside shops or sub-contractors. This practice directly encourages the sweatshop which undermines the industry. This evil is inherent in the piece-work system. Neither intelligent public opinion nor joint board of sanitary control can

remedy it. The remedy lies only in the abolition of the system itself.

The large manufacturer usually sends his orders in the off-season to the small sub-contractor. He must, however, produce for himself some samples and duplicate orders for the expensive retail trade. Under the piece-work system, the manufacturer will call in his regular force to do such work without considering whether he is able to supply his workers with a full day's work, or even with an hour's work. It thus frequently happens that a worker spends a full day in the shop doing intermittently one or two hours' work. This is no concern to the manufacturer. He pays by the piece, and a loss of time to the worker involves no loss to him.

Week Work Weakens the Parasitic Shop

Under week work the situation changes. The agreement provides for at least a full day's work. In addition, the manufacturer appreciates that the worker does not do his best when he has but one or two hours' work to do. As a matter of psychology, the employee works more slowly than usual at such times. The employer thus finds it to his interest to have a full day's work when calling the workers to the shop. He is therefore compelled to do in his shop not only the special work he cannot have done elsewhere, but all the work he can obtain. He cannot afford to patronize the parasitic shop. The employment is thus regularized, to a far greater extent, throughout the year.

A short working season is only one of the evils of piece work. Piece work has a tendency to increase the economic insecurity of the worker and to decrease his earnings. Under this system, the wages of the workers not only vary greatly from season to season, but during the same season, even in the busiest times. They vary by about 25 per cent. This leads to a lowering of living standards. For it is impossible for workers to arrange their budgets in a scientific fashion. Their earnings are spent as they come in. The workers' standard is thus set by their income during the weeks of smallest returns. As living standards are the main economic factors in determining wages, this low standard leads in turn to lower wages. Thus the worker is involved in a vicious circle of constantly decreasing wages. This continuous lowering of wages is one of the main attributes of the sweatshop. It is an inherent tendency of piece work to foster this greatest evil.

Disease Among Garment Workers

Low living standards and irregular employment, accentuated by the piece-work system, undermine vitality and make the worker an easy victim of disease. There is nothing so prejudicial to the health as the periodic succession of abnormally exhausting work by almost total idleness. A medical examination of 800 workers in the ladies' garment industry, selected at random, in March and April of 1912, showed that only 298 were free from any disease. Of the 800, 21.7 per cent had anemia, 21 per cent digestive troubles, 13.7 per cent respiratory diseases, 13.9 per cent nervous diseases and 1.6 per cent suffered from tuberculosis. The mental strain incident to alternate speeding up and total idleness, according to Dr. George M. Price, director of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the cloak, suit and skirt industry, leads to an unduly large percentage of mental depression and neurasthenia among the garment workers.* Dr. Price declares that of 57,000 workers examined in the garment industry of New York—of whom 40,000 had been examined before the introduction of the week system—15 per cent suffered from mental depression. There was a still greater percentage of border cases. Since the introduction of the week system, he stated, the percentage of neurasthenic and mental depression had dropped by one-half.

It is not our contention that these evils must always be present under the piece-work system and never under the week work regime. Our contention is simply this: Piece work has an inherent tendency to encourage these evils, week work to discourage them. The workers, through thorough organization and the expenditure of great sacrifices, may overcome these evils to a great extent even under piece work. The danger of their return, however, is always present, particularly at times of industrial depression. The piece-work system, moreover, produces a guerilla warfare which cannot but help the growth of the small parasitic sweatshop. The workers are stimulated to look for ephemeral individual improvements depending not so much upon their skill as upon the favoritism of foremen or superintendents, or upon their ability to speed up. This constant bargaining also saps the energy and militancy of the workers. Thus, while increasing the menace of the sweatshop, this system, at the same time, undermines the only power which can effectively combat sweatshop conditions—the combined power of labor.

*This statement was corroborated by the investigations of Dr. Schwab and Dr. Schereschewsky in an examination of 3,000 workers during 1913.

When Does the Union Become a Trust?

In Which Judge Anderson's Great Discovery is Explained

By ALBERT DE SILVER

ORGANIZING the mine workers in West Virginia seems to be a pretty trying form of sport. In the first place, there are Baldwin-Felts men who do not like the union organizers. Then there is Major Davis of the State Guards. And last, but not least, there is the injunction man around the corner to serve a paper on you if you don't watch out. Nobody who has not been to West Virginia has a right to talk about Major Davis or the mine guards, but those who have access to the law libraries can perhaps say a word about the injunctions which from time to time have punctuated the distressing conditions which prevail in the non-union counties of that State.

Back six or seven years ago, or perhaps earlier, the operators invented a document which in union circles is known as the Yellow Dog contract. It is a contract of employment by which the individual miner agrees to work for a particular coal operator. Among other things it contains a clause to the general effect that the miner who signs it is an upstanding, free-born American who won't accept dictation from anybody about his private affairs but will work for whomever he chooses and who will therefore, and in consideration of the other agreements contained in the instrument, not join a labor organization. This contract was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States by the Hitchman Coal and Coke Co. in 1917. Their mine had formerly been unionized, but they were then running a closed non-union mine under the Yellow Dog contract. Organizers of the United Mine Workers tried to get the men to agree to join the organization at a future date. The operators claimed that this amounted to inducing a breach of a freely made contract and got an injunction, which the Supreme Court sustained, on the ground that such a contract would be protected by the courts and further that the operators had a constitutional right to employ only non-union men if they so chose.

"Yellow Dog" and the Injunction Win

That was the big victory that the injunction won in West Virginia and the operators have been busy ever since enjoining all attempts to unionize

the non-union counties. Mother Jones, it will be remembered, was enjoined from making any kind of a speech there last year and so were other people who wanted to talk to the miners.

Last month the operators went a step farther and got from U. S. District Judge Albert B. Anderson, of Indianapolis, a new kind of injunction. One of them, the Borderland Coal Co., in forty-four affidavits charged that the officials of the United Mine Workers and the operators of the so-called Central Competitive Field, whose mines are unionized, had entered into a conspiracy to destroy the competition of the non-union counties of West Virginia by forcing the unionization of the mines and thereby inducing them to conform to the union scale of wages and working conditions, all in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. They asked that the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers be enjoined from assisting in any way in the organization of Mingo County and that the operators be enjoined from collecting union dues by the "check-off" system. The defendants submitted a large number of answering affidavits and requested thirty days in which to file an answer to the entire bill of complaint. Judge Anderson thought that the request was a reasonable one and, since the matters before him were of grave importance, that further information from such an answer would be helpful. He felt, however, that the matter should be left in *status quo* during the thirty days period.

Judge Anderson's New Kind of Injunction

Oddly enough, his notion of leaving matters in *status quo* was to exact from President Lewis, of the United Mine Workers a promise in open court that all attempts to organize Mingo County should be abandoned during that interval. Preserving the *status quo*, in other words, amounted to nothing less than securing the effect of the future injunction through a promise given in Court before its issuance. This promise President Lewis, naturally, declined to give. Whereat Judge Anderson proceeded, without waiting for the answer of the defendants, and issued an injunction

"The Right
to
Organize"

In
West
Virginia



restraining those defendants before him who were either residents of Indiana or Indiana corporations from enforcing the check-off provisions of the contracts between the United Mine Workers and the operating companies, and restraining the International Executive Board of the United Mine Workers from assisting in any way or from contributing any money towards the attempts to unionize Mingo County.

In granting the injunction, the Court, from his opinion, seems to have gone on the theory that the affidavits established: first, that because the coal mined in Mingo County was shipped out of the State, organization of the miners amounted to a conspiracy to restrain interstate trade in violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law; and second, that the methods adopted included the use of force, violence and unlawful means. The defendants insisted that the moneys contributed by the International Executive Board were not used for unlawful purposes, but "only in such peaceable ways as caring for and feeding and furnishing supplies to those union miners who had been evicted from their homes and deprived of a living."

This argument did not weigh with the Judge. In his opinion, he says: "If this be true, it is quite apparent that there is no difference in the activities of those who furnish the food and supplies for the army and those who furnish it its arms and ammunition." Nevertheless Judge Anderson excepted from the decree the payment "of sufficient funds to the members of the said United Mine Workers of America now living in tents, or out of employment, in Mingo County, West Virginia . . . for their actual necessities."

Why this exception? If furnishing money for food is only one step removed from furnishing money for arms and if the charge of force and violence had anything to do with the injunction, why were not both enjoined? It is hard to escape the conclusion that "force and violence" was not a real basis for the decree and that the Judge based his injunction solely upon the theory that a spiracy existed in violation of the Anti-Trust Act.

How the Unions Will be Smashed

Such a decision is of grave importance. It is doubtful if a question more vital to organized labor is now before the Courts. The product of most nation-wide industries finds its way into interstate commerce. In most of them the non-union shops present troublesome competition to the employers who pay the union scale of wages and who maintain union conditions. The unionization of these non-union shops tends to make this competition less troublesome. What Judge Anderson has decided is that the attempt to unionize them is therefore a conspiracy to destroy competition and in restraint of trade in violation of the Anti-Trust Law. If the decision is good in the coal industry, it is good in every other national industry whose product is sold by the producer to a purchaser in another state. The decision involves the very life of many national unions.

The case has been appealed and the check-off provision of the injunction has been suspended until the Circuit Court of Appeals renders its decision. The same question in another form is now before the Supreme Court of the United States in the Coronado Coal Company case. Organized labor may well watch for these two decisions with apprehension.

Making the Unions Successful Sewing Circles

The last paragraph of Judge Anderson's opinion contains the statement that the Court does not "hold that the United Mine Workers' Union is in itself an unlawful organization nor will it in any way attempt to curtail its lawful activities." In view of the decision, one wonders just what its lawful activities are. Practically all the coal mined in the United States goes into interstate trade. If the future extension of the organization to non-union mines is a conspiracy to restrain trade in violation of the Anti-Trust Law, what of past extensions? Just precisely what is left? Social and fraternal activities perhaps, but clearly not much that tends to bring effective pressure upon the industry for bettering the lots of the men who work in it.

Kill the Labor Injunction or It Will Kill Us

By JOHN P. FREY

THE labor movement in every country has been influenced and affected by court decisions, but the organized wage earners of no country have been compelled to encounter the problem which has been created in America through courts of equity.

The acts and decisions of equity courts are now being carefully studied because of the power which they have usurped and their menace to free institutions and government by law.

Courts are sharply divided into two groups—courts of law and courts of equity. In the courts of law, the judges are governed by the statutory or common law, the law defining what constitutes crime or misdemeanor and in most instances fixing the minimum and maximum punishment for the offense. When an individual is charged with crime, a jury listens to all of the evidence and determines the facts, after which the judge, governed by the law, determines the sentence if the defendant has been found guilty.

A court of equity is not a court of law. It was originally established in England for the purpose of protecting the property rights of individuals when there existed no law which would grant them protection from acts which menaced their property. Courts of equity, therefore, issued injunctions prayed for by the individual, to protect his property from irreparable damage.

When Injunctions Are Necessary

A telephone company having secured the right to set up its poles and string wires might find directly in their path a magnificent tree in front of a home. They might chop down the tree in spite of the property owner's protests, and later on a court of law might determine what damages, if any, the property owner was entitled to. But the tree could not be restored, the damage done

through the chopping down of the tree would be irreparable damage.

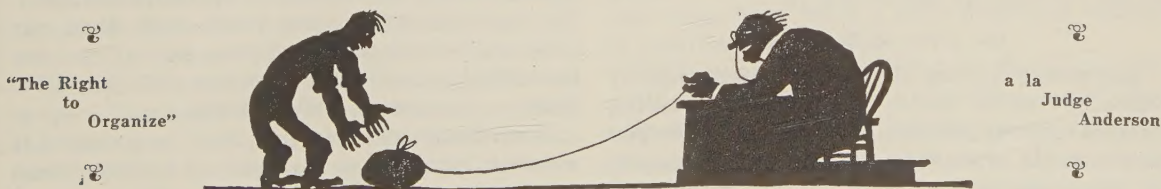
A court of equity through the issuing of an injunction would restrain the telephone company from destroying the tree though it would not limit the telephone company's right to a hearing later which would determine what the company could or could not do.

In this, as in other similar cases, there was no specific law protecting property owners. There was also an urgent necessity for immediate action which would prevent irreparable injury. Here, as in every case in England, the court of equity acted simply to protect property rights; human rights not being involved.

As the court of equity was compelled to deal with a situation not provided for in definite terms by statutory or common law, the court, if there was an alleged violation of its orders, assumed the responsibility of investigating alleged violations of its injunction and, if in the court's mind there had been a violation, then again, in the absence of statutory or common law, governed only by its "conscience," the court was compelled to determine the degree of punishment to be contained in its sentence.

It is apparent that courts of equity are most necessary institutions and that such courts must have greater latitude in fixing the degree of punishment for the violation of its injunctions than courts of law. The all important question is the power which courts of equity have assumed when dealing with industrial disputes.

Making use of the unique position which they occupy, they have, little by little, extended the field of their authority and restrained many other rights, some of which are specifically provided for in the Constitution of the United States and contained in the American Bill of Rights.



LABOR AGE

Outrageous Decrees Against Workmen

They have restrained free assemblage; they have restrained free speech; they have restrained a free press; they have restrained unions from paying strike benefits to members on strike, although these members had paid dues many years for the purpose of being entitled to strike benefits; they have restrained striking workmen from orally, in writing, or in any other manner mentioning the fact that they are on strike, or that there was a dispute in progress with their employer; they have denied to strikers the right of giving publicity to their side of the case.

While these outrageous decrees, which, so far as the court was concerned, nullified the wage earners' constitutional rights, were being issued, another development was taking place which imposed great injustice upon striking workmen and denied them the protection given to the most brutal criminals. When a man is charged with a misdemeanor or a crime he is guaranteed a trial by jury, his accusers must face him, and their evidence must convince the entire twelve men on the jury that he is guilty. The accused is not called upon by the court, or the law, to prove his innocence. Instead, it devolves upon the authorities to prove the guilt.

Breaches of the peace, disturbances and more serious acts have occurred during strikes. Strikers sometimes fail to use the most polite, gentlemanly and diplomatic language when talking with strike-breakers, particularly when these are professionals who make their living as strike-breakers. Sympathizers at times resort to methods which are proscribed by the law. Not only this, but, what is more important, armed guards, private detectives and the labor spies are instructed by their employers to stage riots, commit assault and battery and destroy property during strikes so that evidence can be manufactured and used against the strikers.

If no injunction is issued, a striker or sympathizer charged with a breach of the peace or some more serious act would be arrested, but he would be accorded all of his rights as an accused . . . the authorities would have to prove his guilt and do this through the verdict of a jury.

The Crime of Contempt

The employers, searching for some method by which the strike could be broken and leading strikers severely punished, discovered the weapon in the courts of equity. They promptly secured an injunction which, among other things, re-

strained the strikers from doing many acts included among misdemeanors and crimes. Armed with this writ of injunction they then had strikers arrested, not upon the charge of having committed a misdemeanor or a crime, but upon the charge of contempt, the allegation being that the striker had violated the injunction. The accused was therefore brought before a court of equity instead of a court of law, and being in a court of equity he was denied the right of a trial by jury. In addition, he found that the judge was also the prosecutor, as well as the jury, and that, the procedure of law courts having been reversed, he was compelled to prove that he was innocent.

The authority exercised by courts of equity in the field which we are considering has not been derived from the Constitution of the United States, neither has it been conferred by statutory enactment.

Government by Injunction

Courts of equity exercise irresponsible power. They have usurped authority never conferred upon them; they are used as strike-breaking institutions; they have developed a method by which the right to a trial by jury is abolished for striking workmen; they have invaded the powers conferred upon the legislative branch of the government, and they have vacated and nullified the wage earner's most sacred constitutional rights; they are governed in what they do by their "conscience."

They have, through their decisions in labor matters, set up government by injunction instead of government by law.

The menace presented by what courts of equity have done, and are doing, is one of the most serious which threatens the wage earner. It is, however, a menace which can be overcome, for it lies well within the power of the state and federal legislative bodies to enact legislation which will place necessary limits and restrictions upon the powers which courts of equity can exercise.

The American Federation of Labor has prepared a model anti-injunction bill which, when enacted into law, will prevent the "conscience" of any court of equity from issuing the arbitrary, class-creating, tyrannical, constitution-overturning decisions which have made more than one state and federal court notorious and which have brought them into such contempt that they have become synonymous with injustice.

Government by injunction must be abolished if we are to remain a people governed by law. There can be no compromise between the two.

Recalling the Farmer Governor

Why North Dakota Voters Defeated the Man Who Saved Them Fifteen Million A Year

By H. G. TEIGAN

LABOR has a distinct interest in what is taking place in North Dakota. For, the program of cooperative business under state control which the farmers of that state have tried to make possible, through the Non-Partisan League, can give labor a helpful example of social ownership, if it proves finally successful.

When the farmers of North Dakota decided to build the Non-Partisan League in the spring of 1915, they had one purpose in view only—to achieve by legislation certain economic reforms which would be of advantage to them. In particular were they concerned in bringing about reforms in the marketing of their products. This is still what these farmers are fighting for.

It is true, they set about electing candidates of their own to state and legislative offices. This, however, was merely incidental to the main purpose. It mattered not much then and does not matter now to the farmers of North Dakota whether their own men are in office provided, of course, the League program continues to be carried out.

Non-Partisan League's Enemies Rejoice Prematurely

On October 28th, last, the voters of North Dakota decided to recall from office three staunch Leaguers, the Governor, Attorney General and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor. These three officials constitute what is known as the Industrial Commission, which commission is the directing body of the Industrial Program in the state. Naturally the League's enemies felt elated over the outcome, since they believed that, as a result of it, the industrial program of the League would be largely modified if not actually destroyed. Thus it was that, on the day following the election, the kept press of the United States heralded forth the tidings that North Dakota had repudiated "Socialism."

But the rejoicing was somewhat premature, inasmuch as the voters had again decided that they wanted the program of the League carried out.

The anti-League organization, commonly known as the Independent Voters' Association, had initiated six laws and three constitutional amendments which, if they had carried, would have largely modified the League industrial program.

For one thing the Bank of North Dakota would have been dissolved and the further financing of the other industries would have been made dependent on privately owned banks.

All of these initiated measures and amendments were defeated at the polls. The majorities against them ranged from four thousand to nearly ten thousand. Thus it appears that "Socialism" has not yet been repudiated by the North Dakota voters.

Why Frazier Was Recalled

Naturally both friends and foes of the Non-Partisan League are wondering how it was that the three League officials were recalled while the program remained safe. No one cause can be given as an answer to this question. There were several causes which contributed to the defeat of Frazier, Lemke and Hagan, the three members of the industrial commission. In the opinion of the writer, the following may be given as contributing mainly to their defeat:

1. The industrial depression prevailing throughout the entire country.
2. Lying propaganda carried on by the newspapers and politicians against the League officials.
3. Mistakes of League officials in administering part of the program.
4. General trend against the party in power.
5. Poor management of the campaign by the state office at Fargo.

Now, it would seem that the first of these causes should not have influenced the voters, since the League administration in North Dakota surely could not be in any way to blame. However, political experience has proved that the party in power is held responsible by the voters for the prevalence of such conditions irrespective of whether it is responsible or not. Ordinarily this cause alone would have been sufficient to defeat the League in this election. Only the unusual intelligence of the rural voting population prevented this cause from being a more important element in contributing to defeat.

Little comment is required on the second proposition, since all students of politics are familiar with the effect of evil propaganda on the part of outsiders against those in office. It is largely this propaganda that operates to bring about the

"general trend against the party in power" as mentioned under number four.

Unquestionably the League officials have made some mistakes in the administration of affairs. The League papers in North Dakota have long ago admitted as much. Mistakes could not be prevented during the development period. This was particularly true with respect to the Home Building Association. Houses were built at a greater cost to the state than was permitted by law and as contracted for with the owners. Then, too, the small losses suffered by the state-owned mill at Drake did the League administration some damage. In the latter instance, however, it is extremely unjust to charge these losses up to mismanagement, since the decline in the price of wheat during the last fourteen months was solely responsible. But then the League's enemies played upon these mistakes and losses to the detriment of the League.

Mismanagement of the campaign played no small part in bringing about defeat. Inexperienced men were placed in charge of the campaign and though their hearts were right they were unfamiliar with their new task. Speakers were poorly routed and in many instances no advertising had been done for them in advance.

Failure of the Cooperatives

There were, of course, other things that did the League damage. The closing down of the Equity Packing Plant at Fargo, with a large loss to the stockholders and a feeling on the part of a large majority of them that they had been "fleeced" by the officials had a bad effect upon the morale of the farmers. The Packing Plant was not a League enterprise but too many people failed to make the necessary discrimination. The failure of some of the cooperative stores organized by Leaguers in 1917 and 1918 also had an adverse effect in some places. While the stores were not directly connected with the League, it must be admitted that these did have at least an indirect connection with the farmers' political movement.

The good work of the League in the state, on the other hand, has proved such a tremendous economic advantage to the farmers as well as to the people in general that the mistakes recited here are only a drop in the bucket compared with the good work accomplished.

Saving the Farmers and Workers Millions Each Year

The state hail insurance law saved the people of one (Williams) County alone more in the cost

of insurance this year than the total losses sustained in the operation of the Drake Mill and the Home Building Association. Since the inauguration of the state hail insurance plan in North Dakota in 1919, the people of the state have been saved in cost of hail insurance a sum approximating fifteen million dollars. That is to say, had the farmers, during these three years, insured their crops with old line companies, the cost would have exceeded that of insurance by the state to the extent of fifteen million dollars.

The "grain grading act" has also effected a saving of millions of dollars to the farmers of North Dakota. Several labor laws could be mentioned, too, that have proved of tremendous economic value both to the workers and to their employers. The cost of administering workmen's compensation insurance in North Dakota under the state plan amounts to approximately ten per cent of the premiums paid in, while in Minnesota, where the old line companies are still operating, only approximately 40 per cent of the premiums are returned to the workers in the way of losses.

What of the Future?

Turning to the future, I would say that the outlook is good for League victory next year. While the I. V. A.'s were able to rally all elements opposed to the League and its program to the support of their candidates at this election, it will not be so easy to do this next June and next November. For one thing, the newly elected I. V. A. officials haven't enough jobs to go around to satisfy political henchmen who supported them for no other purpose than to get jobs. Moreover, the I. V. A. promise of immediate return to prosperity in the state of North Dakota can hardly be made good. These facts are going to prove rather embarrassing to Messrs. Nestos, Johnson and Kitchin, the newly elected Industrial Commission.

The Non-partisan League never was in better position to "carry on" than it is at present. If the I. V. A. officials go ahead carrying out the League program in an honest manner they will find the Leaguers unanimous in helping them succeed. If, on the other hand, these officials proceed to sabotage the program endorsed at the polls, the Leaguers will have no difficulty in putting back into office next year the "tried and true" who have already served them so well.

NOTE—In November, 1920, Frazier, League, received 117,118; O'Connar, I. V. A., 112,488. In 1921, Frazier, League, received 107,333; Nestos, I. V. A., 111,423. The losses sustained by Frazier were nearly all in the eastern part of the state.

The Howat Case

Howat and Searles Discuss the Miners' Break

THE INTERNATIONAL'S POSITION

By ELLIS SEARLES

SO much has been written, published and said in regard to the case of Alexander Howat, former President of District 14, United Mine Workers of America, in Kansas, that is untrue and misleading, that it may be just as well for some one to tell the truth about it and set the public mind straight on the subject. Howat is no longer a member of the United Mine Workers of America. He was expelled from the union on November 16, along with an uncertain number of others who refused to obey or to recognize the laws and the rules of the International Union of the United Mine Workers. While Howat was President of the Kansas miners he called numerous strikes in direct violation of the joint agreement between the miners and the operators and in direct violation of the laws of the United Mine Workers of America. For that reason alone he was deposed from office as District President by John L. Lewis, International President of the United Mine Workers. Howat refused point blank to respect the laws of the union, and he defied the International Convention and the International officers of the union. He engaged in open rebellion against the union, and encouraged others to rebel.

Howat was a trouble-maker in the union for years. Time and again he embarrassed the administration of the union by his utter disregard of contract or promise. Although Kansas is a comparatively small coal mining district, Howat had more strikes than any other district in the union. Some were justified, but many were wholly illegal. His district was constantly in a turmoil.

The Agreement Howat Signed

THE United Mine Workers of America have a wage and working agreement with the coal operators of that state. In that joint agreement there are provisions for the settlement of every controversy that may arise. Provision is made for successive appeals from the lowest to the highest tribunal. If it is impossible to reach an adjustment through the medium of the mine

committee and the mine foreman, the case is taken to the next higher authority, and so on until it reaches a joint board, composed of miners and operators. The joint agreement also contains the following:

"Article 1, Section 4: No strike or stoppage of work shall occur at any strip mine until the question in dispute shall have been considered and finally disposed of by the joint board provided for in this contract."

Paragraph 2, Section 2, of the agreement reads as follows:

"That the fulfillment of this agreement entered into shall be guaranteed by the International Union, and the fulfillment of joint agreements entered into in any district shall also be guaranteed by the officers of the International Organization, as well as by the officers of the district, and it shall be their duty to see that all such agreements are carried out, both in the letter and in the spirit."

Howat signed that agreement as President of the Kansas District, and it was to be presumed that he meant to carry out the terms of the agreement. At least he pledged his word that he would when he signed it.

Contract Broken

ONE day last spring a dispute arose at the Dean Strip Mine in Kansas. It was a small controversy that should have been settled without a particle of trouble. But Howat, without following the method of procedure laid down in the con-

tract, called the miners out on strike. The Joint Board never was called in session to consider the case. Howat himself was a member of the Joint Board, and could have called it into session. He thus violated the terms of the very contract which he had signed. The strike was wholly illegal and unjustified. The operators brought the Dean strike case before John L. Lewis, International President of the United Mine Workers, who sent a special committee of two members of the International Executive Board to make an investigation. This committee reported that the strike was illegal and in violation of the joint agreement. President Lewis directed



Made by J. P. E. U., 546

THE STORM CENTER OF THE MINERS

Alexander Howat, President of District 14, deposed
and expelled by President Lewis of the
United Mine Workers

LABOR AGE

Howat to order the men back to work and then take up the grievance in the regular and orderly way. Howat refused to do this. President Lewis laid the case before the International Executive Board, which held a hearing, with Howat present and the operators represented. The board decided the strike was illegal and directed Howat to order the men back to work. Howat again refused and defied the board, which is the highest governing body of the union.

When the International Convention of the United Mine Workers was held in Indianapolis last September, President Lewis reported the situation to the delegates, and asked the convention to sustain the action of the board. There was a bitter debate in the convention, Howat taking the lead for himself. But the facts were so plain, and the laws of the union were so explicit, that there was nothing for the convention to do but affirm the decision of the board. By an overwhelming majority, the convention directed Howat to put the men back to work and take up the grievance in the regular way. But Howat still refused and defied the convention. When he returned to Kansas he gave out a statement, in which he said: "To hell with John Lewis and the convention." Hoping that Howat might yet change his attitude, President Lewis waited several weeks, and then he issued the order suspending the autonomy of District 14 and removing Howat and the other district officials from office. He announced the formation of a provisional district to have temporary charge of the affairs of District 14 until it could be reorganized. Provisional officers are now in charge.

In reporting the Dean case to the International Convention, President Lewis said:

"Our union is being charged in many quarters with violating its obligations as set forth in our wage agreements, and, therefore, it becomes incumbent upon us in such plain and obvious cases as these to decline to justify such criticism and to make every sincere effort to effect harmonious and proper settlements. Defiance of the constituted authority of our organization by district officers who are pledged to uphold its laws and its rulings is indeed reprehensible. Unless our union can reg-

ulate its own affairs according to defined rules and the provisions of its constitution there is, indeed, small hope that it can exercise any great influence in the public affairs of our country."

That's the history of the Howat case and a plain statement of the attitude of the International Union, United Mine Workers of America. Howat is in jail in Kansas for defiance of the Kansas Industrial Court. When he went to jail the Kansas miners went on strike. This strike also was illegal, because they had no grievance against the operators, and it was a violation of the joint agreement. The International Union directed the men to return to work. They failed to do so. So, on November 16 the charters of all local unions in Kansas that refused to obey the order were revoked and their members expelled. I am not yet advised as to the number expelled. Those most prominent in the rebellion are permanently expelled and can never get back in the union.

Howat Sent Himself to Jail

THE United Mine Workers of America had nothing whatever to do with Howat's going to jail. He sent himself to jail. But Howat and his followers have sought to create the impression that the union was responsible for his imprisonment. They have continually told the public that the International officials had joined hands with the Kansas Industrial Court in a fight against Howat. Nothing could be further from the truth. The United Mine Workers are as bitterly opposed to the Kansas Industrial Court law as Howat, and perhaps more so. Howat never has fought the law itself. He has fought only the court without attacking the law. He was invited to file a suit to test the constitutionality of the law, but failed to do it. The International Union is preparing to make this fight itself and find out whether such a barbaric, unjust law can remain on the statute books. Howat is in jail because he defied the Industrial Court, not because he violated the law. He is in jail for one reason, and he was deposed from office for an entirely different reason. The public should not be misled into thinking that there was any connection between the two causes.

KANSAS STANDS FOR FREEDOM

By ALEXANDER HOWAT

THE action taken by President Lewis in suspending the autonomy of our district, without the least justification, is the most cowardly and dastardly outrage that has ever been perpetrated against the labor movement in the history of the country. Such action by Lewis at this time should brand him as a traitor to the cause of labor.

Lewis tries to justify the action he has taken by declaring that the joint wage agreement is being violated with impunity and the laws of the organization transgressed. Because the Dean and Reliance mines were still idle he found it necessary to suspend our district, and declare all the officials removed from office. He also says that he will not permit the operators to impose new conditions on the men at the Dean and Reliance mines. If Lewis was sincere when he made that state-

ment, then it is strange, to say the least, that up until that time neither he nor any of his representatives have accepted the offer contained in my letter to Dalrymple and Steele, board members from Districts 21 and 25. The letter was written to the two board members in April, 1921, after they had instructed me to order the men to return to work at the Dean Strip Mine.

Kansas Miners Merely Want Old Conditions

THIS letter in substance declared: "We are prepared, as we have been from the beginning, to have the members of our organization who are employed at that mine, return to work under the same conditions that have prevailed in the past. We requested the Superintendent of the Dean Coal Company at the beginning of the trouble to put the mine in operation

under the same custom that has prevailed there for many years, but he refused to do so.

"The miners had always understood that no change in conditions would be made without mutual agreement. The company in this case arbitrarily imposed new conditions without consulting us. I even went to the Superintendent to discuss the matter, but he refused to take up the question in dispute, and walked away from me. This action on his part was a clear and deliberate violation of the contract. The contract provided that we should try to reach an adjustment, and if this were not possible the question in dispute should be submitted in writing to the Commissioner of the operators and myself. The action of the Superintendent in walking away and refusing to discuss the question precluded the possibility of the question in dispute being written up, and referred to the Commissioner and myself as per contract.

The Men Did Not Strike

I ALSO desire to make it clear that there has been no strike called at the Dean Mine by any member of the Executive Board. Practically all of the men employed at the Dean Mine were laid off by the company, and the company was, therefore, entirely responsible for the mine's lying idle.

"For me to agree that the Dean Coal Company shall have the right to take away from the men employed there any established custom or conditions would mean that all other coal corporations in the district could do the same with their employees. We should thus go back to the old situation that prevailed in this district before we had any organization."

Neither Dalrymple nor Steele ever made any reply to my letter. Later on, when the Reliance Mine was shut down, no investigation was made by any member of the International Executive Board. The officials of the miners and operators of District 14 were called to Indianapolis, and they appeared before the Board and made a statement of the case. The International officials took the word of the operators against that of the duly elected officers of District 14. Thus, on the mere statement of the coal operators, President Lewis felt it necessary to suspend our district, and tell us that we are no longer the officials of the miners. The same situation developed at the Reliance Mine, where we made the same offer—to return to work under the old conditions.

International Officers' Action Violates Wilson Award

LEWIS and Peck cannot dodge the issue in connection with this question any longer, by using one subterfuge after another, as a pretext to try and justify themselves in the cruel and cowardly action they have taken in stabbing twelve thousand mine workers in the back. The mine workers of the country and labor in general will understand that if President Lewis and the coal operators are trying to impose any new conditions on the men employed at the Dean and Reliance Mines, that such action would be a violation of the award made by the commission appointed by former President Wilson during the miners' general strike two years ago, and would also be, of course, a violation of our contract.

Industrial Court Law Will Not Break Miners

THE coal operators in Kansas did all they could to secure the enactment of the Industrial Court law, in order to try to chain the miners to their jobs. Consequently, if they are put out of the coal business this winter, as a result of lining up with President Lewis and Governor Allen and his Industrial Court, they can blame themselves.

The mine workers of District 14 are at the present time engaged in one of the most remarkable fights in the history of the nation, striking as they are in protest against the enforcement of a law that was in itself created to stop strikes. This so-called law is another blot on American history, and an insult to every man and woman who believes in the principles of liberty and justice. When the Kansas Legislature, at the instigation of Governor Allen, passed the Industrial Court Law, they struck a blow at our rights as union men, and our constitutional right as free American citizens. But Governor Allen, the politicians, and his Industrial Court have failed, just as John Lewis and his court and the coal operators have failed, and the mine workers of District 14 are demonstrating now, not only to Governor Allen, and the people of Kansas, but to the people of the entire country, that the day has passed, never to return, when a few scheming politicians and unscrupulous corporation lawyers, can chain the workers to their jobs like slaves.

The mine workers of District 14 have proved that the Industrial Court is a miserable failure. Instead of stopping strikes it creates strikes, and the fact that Lewis and Peck and Bittner want the mine workers of our district to comply with the Industrial Court law until such time as it may be declared unconstitutional makes no difference. The mine workers of District 14 never will comply with the so-called Industrial Court Law, and John L. Lewis and Governor Allen may as well know that now as later on. Jail or no jail, we are going to make no surrender.

The Kansas miners are making a noble and heroic struggle. All the power of our own international organization is being used against us. President Lewis had all the funds tied up that we had in our district treasury. In addition to the fight that is being made against us by President Lewis, we also have the state against us and the coal operators as well. The mine workers of our district, of course, cannot fight this battle alone. This is the fight of the working class, and if the organized workers of the country are with us then you may rest assured that Governor Allen will never again tell the people of this country anything about an "Industrial Court Law" in Kansas.

The fight is on. The question to be decided is: Shall the working class of Kansas be free men or slaves? And the answer is: In Kansas we shall be free; there shall be no surrender of these principles, and the fight by the organized workers of Kansas against the so-called Industrial Court Law will continue until the principles of free men and women are again recognized and re-established in this state.

Wasting Man Power

By STUART CHASE

Illustrated by ART YOUNG

A PIONEER is trekking into the Southwest in the fifties, with his family and household possessions aboard a prairie schooner. He locates at last in a fertile valley beside a good stream. Timber for building and game for food are abundant, and plowing is a more rewarding venture than ever it was in New England. He has fire-arms, tools, seeds and supplies. His wife is an accomplished hausfrau; his children healthy and strong. To carve an adequate physical livelihood from the wilderness only requires hard work intelligently directed.

With such a setting, suppose our pioneer spends his first month sleeping under his wagon, living from the dwindling stocks of food he has fetched overland; suppose he spends his second month in building a leaning tower of fresh hewn logs; suppose he spends his third month—having exhausted his provisions—in hunting game with a bow and arrow, while rifles rust in his wagon. . . .

This pioneer never was, and never will be. Natural selection eliminated him long ago. A man acting so could only be adjudged fit for the psychopathic ward.

And yet this is precisely the sort of imbecility of which our industrial society—considered as a whole—is chronically guilty. The one hundred and six millions of people in America want adequate houses, food and clothing. Like the pioneer, they find about them unlimited natural resources from which these wants may be supplied. Like the pioneer, but more fortunate than he, they have the tools, machinery and technical knowledge to turn natural resources into consumable goods.

A “man year” with modern engineering methods can produce twenty times as much as a pioneer “man year” with its crude tools. The engineer has achieved an unheard of thing in history. He has given us the power to raise the last family to the level of an adequate and comfortable income.

Poverty is potentially banished. But what are the facts? Great sections of the adult population are always idle; great sections are producing perfectly worthless things; great sections are producing necessary things with bow and arrow methods when a rifle technique is available.

Our Industrial Juggernaut

Consider the industrial life of the United States today. On the one hand, we find thousands of empty factories, farmers cutting down their acreage, mines closing, ships rusting at wharves, the building industry at a standstill, steel production off 40 per cent; and on the other hand, we find hungry people, ill housed people, wretchedly clothed people, badly in want of the cotton, wheat, lumber, coal, steel and factory products which the farms and the factories and mines are not producing.

This state of affairs, is the impasse to which our captains of industry have led us. Here does American initiative, pep, bounce, “sell ’em,” find its perfect consummation. As is inevitable. The productive mechanism is too intricate, too interdependent, to operate under a hundred thousand general staffs, each willing for its own particular advantage, with no thought to the end towards which production flows. To go at all, this mechanism must be planned and designed and brought under some sort of co-ordinated control. The load must be balanced between industries, and output up to a given standard of living must be determined and maintained. Otherwise the insane dance will go on and on until something breaks. It is not pleasant to contemplate that breaking point.

A Hint of What Might Be

Under the pressure of war, America gave a hint of what co-ordinated control might do. It was a clumsy, catch-as-catch-can control, but it worked. Five million able-bodied producers went into the army and navy. Eleven million more went into the manufacture of munitions of war. Thus in a few months, sixteen million workers,—more than a third of the labor energy of the country,—left the ranks of normal production and became virtually wards upon the remaining workers. The latter supported the parasitic third, and supported all dependent people, and supported themselves, at what was probably a higher average standard of living than has ever before obtained in America! It is safe to say that during 1918 and 1919 there was less poverty per capita than at any other time in the history of the country.

Why? Primarily because there was a plan. The Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Railroad Administration, the War Industries Board, and the rest, deliberately planned for the material support of the country. They inventoried resources and plant, calculated requirements, closed up non-essential industries, coordinated the transportation systems, husbanded raw material, introduced standards, and cut down excessive styles and varieties of manufactured products. Their methods were often crude, unjust, oppressive. But the naked fact remains that two-thirds of the workers maintained the other third, and kept the average man in better condition than he had ever before enjoyed.



Made by I. P. E. U., 546

Necessity Dictates the Obvious

Today the whole fabric has been torn to shreds, unhampered business control is in the saddle, and the industrial system is staggering like a wounded ox.

A Wasteless Society

Suppose we roughly survey the waste of man power as it confronts us today.

Let us take as our standard of measurement a wasteless society. A wasteless society may be defined as one in which only useful goods and services are produced, and where every able-bodied adult is engaged in helping to produce them. "Useful" must be very broadly interpreted to include not only sound shelter food and clothing, but the arts, the sciences, the work of housewives and mothers, sanitation, medical care, education, recreation, amusement and reasonable comforts. A wasteless society, furthermore, would produce and distribute its goods according to the best available methods.

With such a standard it is possible to measure waste as it appears in the present structure. The most fundamental waste is that of human effort,

and it falls into the three main categories, which we have already outlined in the case of the pioneer:

1. At any given time, great numbers of the adult population are doing nothing at all;
2. Great numbers of people "gainfully employed" are always engaged in producing goods and services which have not the slightest human value;
3. The workers who are making really useful things are wasting a large portion of their labor power because of faulty and antiquated technical methods.

While only long and detailed research may finally present figures that can be regarded as authentic, it is possible to furnish some estimates covering these three items which indicate the tremendous proportions of the problem.

Workers Who Do Not Produce

There are no figures compiled which show at any given time the extent of unemployment in the United States. The Department of Labor has recently reported 5,750,000 unemployed, but does not set this figure as a maximum. We are safe in assuming that there are 5 million out of work today.

The number of strikers and locked-out workers will swell this total considerably. This is a figure which is subject to wide fluctuations from month to month. Perhaps another half million are today idle for these reasons.

The number of idle rich chronically unemployed is not large compared with the dreadful damage they do in distorting useful production. There are, perhaps, 300,000 in all.

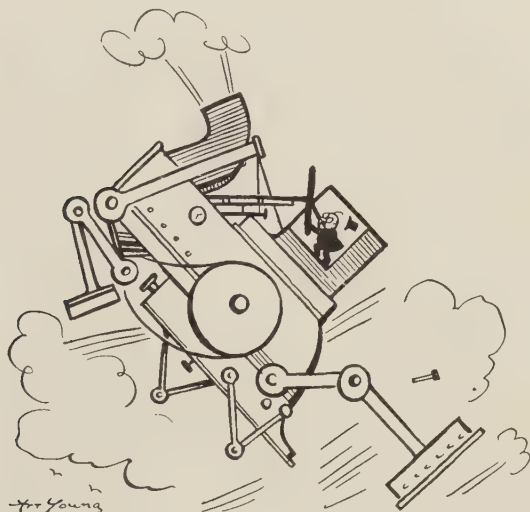
In addition it should be noted that of the three million people sick or incapacitated on any given day, a very large number of them have been brought down by preventable causes which a wasteless society would be at pains to eliminate. Perhaps a million workers are always absent from the army of producers by reason of clearly preventable sickness and accidents.

Recapitulating, we may not be far wrong in estimating nearly seven million potential producers idle at the present time.

The Extent of Idleness

In the census of 1910, of the 38,000,000 persons gainfully employed, 24,000,000 or 63 per cent were engaged in what may be termed primary production,—farming, fishing, mining, manufacturing, building. The other 14,000,000 were not making anything, but were either distributing the goods which the primary producers had made, or were rendering some sort of specialized service. Today the ratio of these workers to the primary producers has reached, according to reliable estimates, 50 per cent of the total working population.

That a large force is necessary as a distributing mechanism, goes without saying, but does it take one man to carry, for every man that makes? It does not. A ratio of one to five, or 20 per cent would be high under a properly co-ordinated distributing system.



Made by I. P. E. U. 546

Can Man Control His Civilization?

What are they doing, these unnecessary millions? Advertising, selling, cross-hauling, speculating, bargaining, going to law, bookkeeping, peddling, canvassing, insuring, banking, real estate, bootlegging. . . . Here are 120,000 bankers and brokers; 1,500,000 bookkeepers and clerks; 300,000 commercial travellers; 130,000 insurance agents; 135,000 lawyers, 225,000 barbers and manicurists; 150,000 milliners; 40,000 jewelers; 1,250,000 retail dealers; 1,600,000 retail store clerks; 200,000 soldiers; 2,000,000 servants; 80,000 fortune tellers, spiritualists, mediums. . . .

That the labor of all these people is wasted cannot be maintained for an instant. That they work as hard as the rest of us is probably true. But scattered through this category of non-producers will be found millions of persons gainfully employed, whose output, so far as service to society goes, is nil.

Turning to the Treasury estimates of expenditures for luxuries in 1919. The total is placed, in Secretary Houston's letter, at \$22,700,000,000, or about 30 per cent of the national income in that year! Not more than half of this staggering total, however, can be classed as true luxuries. Included as luxuries in the Treasury figures, we find such

articles as musical instruments, toilet soaps, automobiles, art works and sporting goods.

But at least one half of the 22 billions can be classed as true luxuries. Here is \$500,000,000 for jewelry, \$750,000,000 for perfumery and cosmetics, \$50,000,000 for chewing gum, \$75,000,000 for "luxuries in hotels and restaurants," \$3,000,000,000 for "resorts, races, joy rides, etc.," \$1,500,000,000 for "luxurious clothing, carpets, rugs." We will not be far wrong in estimating that \$11,000,000,000, or 15 per cent of the national income, was spent for needless luxuries in 1919. Fifteen per cent of the national income is probably roughly equivalent to fifteen per cent of the labor power of the working population. The labor population today is about 44 millions. Thus we have a total engaged in luxury production of nearly seven million workers.

Finally we would be well on the side of conservatism if we estimated twelve million workers engaged either in the production of luxuries or in the production of other useless goods and services. If luxuries account for seven millions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that there are at least five millions more in the ranks of those not engaged in primary production—salesmen, clerks, advertisers and retail store-keepers—where services, from the point of view of efficient distribution, are utterly superfluous.

Wastes in Technical Methods

The third category of human effort wasted is still harder to evaluate. Only a detailed study of each industry combined with the possibilities of intelligent co-ordination between industries, would disclose the approximate facts. The recently published Hoover reports on the wastes of 14 important industries furnish the beginning to such studies.

Consider, for instance, the coal industry. Estimates have already been prepared by engineers in respects to the possibilities of saving coal under modern scientific methods. The production of coal has averaged about 600 million tons in the United States during the past few years, of which 170 million tons are used by the railroads, 85 million tons are converted into coke for steel making, some 20 to 30 million tons are exported, and the balance is used for light, heat and power.

It has been estimated that to generate enough electrical power to satisfy present power requirements would necessitate the mining of not over 200 million tons of bituminous coal, provided this

coal were distilled by what is known as the Mond process at the pit mouth. Thus 200 millions of bituminous coal for all power purposes, and another 100 millions for coke and by-product purposes, foots up to 300 million tons as all that is needed to do the work of the present 600 million tons—a saving of 50 per cent.

Our Dilemma

Here then is our dilemma—a nation rich in natural resources, rich in technical knowledge, rich in plant and equipment, yet with hunger and misery abroad. Instead of utilizing these re-

Labor lost through antiquated technical methods in the production and distribution of essentials	10,000,000
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Total lost labor	29,000,000
Total potential working population	44,000,000

Ratio of waste	66 per cent
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The figure of 10 million workers lost through antiquated technical methods, is arrived at by estimating that 40 per cent of the labor of the 25 million workers in essential industries is wasted. In coal the ratio was 50 per cent, so 40 per cent



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BY-PRODUCTS OF A WASTEFUL SYSTEM

Unemployment riot in Liverpool; a "tempest in a teapot" compared to the riots in Berlin and Vienna

sources to stamp out poverty, we find that nearly 7 million potential workers are doing nothing at all; at least 12 million more are making worthless products or rendering useless services; while the balance of the working population is making useful things so wastefully, that, if coal be any test, half their efforts count for nothing. To summarize:

	Workers
Labor lost through unemployment, strikes, idle rich, preventible sickness, etc.....	7,000,000
Labor lost through the production of non-essential products and services	12,000,000

for all industries would seem a conservative figure.

That the grand total waste ratio of 66 per cent is not unreasonable, is shown by the report of the Hoover engineers, who calculate that the modern industrial machine is wasting 75 per cent of its potential energy.

These figures, in spite of their tentative character, serve to raise the challenge of waste in outstanding terms. It is a challenge which the business man is temporarily blind to, but one which labor and the engineer must take up, if they would be saved.

Labor Opinion

Significant Expressions on Current Issues by the Labor Press

CAMOUFLAGE

(*The Leather Workers' Journal*, Nov., 1921)

The Washington Conference is already being shaped by high government officials as a camouflage. The statement of Secretary Hughes that the conference is only intended to promote limitation of armaments—not to bring about disarmament—completely destroys the hopes and purposes of the multitude that have been insistent there shall be no more wars between civilized peoples. Limitation means nothing in so far as realization of the true purpose is concerned.

If the present administration at Washington is really desirous of conforming to the demands of the people, they could at least seriously undertake to bring about an agreement to reduce armaments with ultimate disarmament at the earliest practical moment. The people as a whole close their eyes to the fact that there is constantly at the seat of government a powerful lobby working night and day to secure appropriations of vast sums for maintenance, increase and upbuilding of the military and naval establishments; they promote this under the guise of preparedness, contending it to be the practical method to prevent wars. In answer to this, we think it sufficient merely to cite the policy of Germany before the recent great war.

Not only should the peoples of all countries be relieved of financial burdens, but above all the sacrifice of human life at the command of any government—it being un-Christian, uncivilized and inhuman—must cease.

ABOLISH LABOR SECTION TRANSPORTATION ACT

(*The Railroad Trainmen*, Nov., 1921)

So far as this organization is concerned, we believe that the fixing of wages by the government for employees who are not in government service is absolutely wrong in principle and unsatisfactory in practice. We are not in accord with present practices of adjusting differences with railroad employers, and would be quite willing to have all of the labor sections of the Transportation Act nullified and our class of service placed on the same adjustment basis with the employer as it was prior to the taking over of the railroads by the government.

"NEWS" AND UNEMPLOYMENT

(*Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's Magazine*, Nov., 1921)

The unemployment conference was preceded by an advertising and propaganda campaign by the railroads, in which the public, particularly in the agricultural districts, was confronted continuously with works of the art of publicity experts and advertising engineers spreading the doctrine of "low wages" and "high rates." Farm papers have been flooded with display advertisements distributed by the Association of Railway Executives in an effort to convince the farmers that the existing high freight rates are due to high wages. With the usual juggling of figures, the railway executives try to tell the farmers that the wages of railroad employees are two billion dollars a year higher than in 1916. The railroad

executives are so greatly disturbed by the ominous rumble of protest from farmers who have seen the proceeds from farm products eaten up by freight rates that the rail executives have resorted to their old tactics of seeking to prejudice the agricultural workers against the industrial workers.

BACK TO NORMALCY

(*The Painter and Decorator*, Nov., 1921)

Wages of painters and all other skilled mechanics employed in the navy yards of the United States have been reduced from 84 cents to 73 cents an hour; the working week has been shortened to five days. As wages are hammered down by one department of the government another department—the Bureau of Labor Statistics—reports that the cost of living is going up. So the workers are ground between the upper and nether millstones.

David Lawrence places the wage cut of the navy yard workers directly at the door of President Harding. Writing in the *Washington Evening Star*, he says:

"Wages must come down. The Harding administration, faced with an issue of continuing the present wage scales in the navy yards, resisted the appeals of organized labor and made a drastic cut. The controversy was carried up from the navy department to the cabinet, where President Harding himself took a hand. The word had gone forth from the administration that the quickest way to normalcy is by wage cuts."

EVEN-HANDED JUSTICE

(*The Stone Cutters' Journal*, Nov., 1921)

For several years the state authorities in West Virginia have placed at the disposal of the mine owners all of the police power of the state. Not content with such a delegation of authority, the state officials have permitted the mine owners to recruit an army of gunmen and thugs who have operated outside the law and in open defiance of the statutes.

The continued denial of the right of free press, free speech and peaceful assemblage finally resulted in what amounted to civil warfare to bring back to the residents of the state the constitutional rights which had been taken from them by the greedy exploiters of the state.

Now comes the grand jury of Mingo County and returns a blanket indictment charging 350 miners with the crime of murder. Not a single Baldwin-Felts operative is charged with the commission of any act of violence, despite the fact that these thugs have shot down in cold blood scores of workers whose only crime was an insistence on their constitutional rights.

Thus are the courts of West Virginia prostituted to the base ends of those whose greed knows no bounds. Is it any wonder that each day sees new recruits to the ranks of those who have lost all confidence in constituted authority?

Is it surprising that contempt for courts has grown to an extent that threatens the existence of the whole judicial system?

The Month

By HARRY W. LAIDLER

Labor in America

THE month of November in labor circles was characterized, among other things, by a bitter struggle in the needle industry, demand and counter demand among employers and workers in the railroad industry, dissensions among the miners, the November elections, in which labor still paid homage to the two major parties, redoubled efforts in behalf of amnesty for political prisoners, and wholesale wage reductions. Little change took place in the unemployment situation.

The Miners

THE breach between President John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers, and the miners of Kansas, Illinois and other western states developed into serious proportions last month as a result of the expulsion (November 17) of Alexander Howat, for five years leader of the Kansas miners, from membership in the United Mine Workers of America. Howat was charged with refusing to obey the order of the national convention to call off the Kansas strike.

Several thousands of miners in his state are standing by Howat, while perhaps a majority have been reorganized by the miners' national executive board.

The outlawed Kansas miners are receiving generous support from the Illinois miners, led by Frank Farrington and John H. Walker. Their recent convention voted an appropriation of about \$90,000 as a relief fund. Lewis issued a call to the 500,000 members of the union, urging them not to permit themselves to be disrupted on the eve of important wage conferences in the industry.

A nationwide strike was narrowly averted on November 4, by the decision of the Federal Court of Appeals, to suspend that part of Judge Anderson's injunction discontinuing the "check off" system in the collection of union dues. In Colorado, however, the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in late November, threw down the gauntlet to the miners of that state by ordering 25 to 30 per cent reduction in wages. The reduction led to a walk-out, and to the immediate declaration of martial law in the mining districts affected.

Labor and Public Ownership

SEVERAL representatives of organized labor took part in the conference of the Public Ownership League of America, held in Chicago, from November 18 to 22. John Brophy, President of District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, and chairman of the Nationalization Research Committee of the miners, gave a vigorous address in support of public ownership and democratic administration of the mines. He quoted Secretary Hoover as declaring that the coal industry was one of the worst governed industries in the country. The present instability of the industry, he quoted a mine president as saying, was costing the country \$500,000,000 annually. He declared that the annual loss of coal was

150,000,000 tons; that transportation wastes were appalling and that the owners were engaging in gross profiteering. One West Virginia firm, he asserted, had secured a profit of \$478,000 on a capital of \$178,000. No less than \$20,000,000 of the stock of the Pittsburg Coal Company, one of the largest bituminous companies, was "water." Some 2,500 miners are killed and 30,000 injured each year. The average working year of the miner during the last thirty years was 215 days. The miner's average income in the United States will probably be less than \$1,000. National ownership is necessary for economy, for the conservation of the nations coal resources and for the sake of both the producer and the consumer.

The Railroads

BOTH railroad workers and management during November began extensive preparation for their coming contest for advantage before the Railroad Labor Board. Some of the important events in the railroad situation during the month are as follows:

November 5—Statement of Brotherhood chiefs that the railroad strike will be revived if the Labor Board fails to keep its promise to dispose of working rules before taking up the question of wages; declaration that the strike was called off on account of this promise and on account of the imminent arrest of the executive officers and the general local chairman of the Brotherhoods.

November 10—Decision of the Association of Railroad Executives, representing fifty-two railroads, employing 687,000 workers, to make immediate application for a 10 per cent reduction in wages.

November 14-15—Formation of plans by the Brotherhoods of Locomotive Engineers and Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen for joint action in fighting the demands of the railroads.

Agreement by four Brotherhoods to set up adjustment boards in Eastern, Southeastern and Western states, as provided in the Esch-Cummings Act. Each of the boards are to have eight members, one from each of the four Brotherhoods, and four representing the railroads. It is hoped that they will relieve the dockets of the Railroad Labor Board of many minor cases of complaint.

November 22—The presidents of the shop-craft employees, representing 400,000 railroad employees, requested the calling of conferences for December 20 to negotiate for a wage increase as an offset to the employers' demand for a reduction. The shop-crafts have also started a vigorous protest against the growing practice of leasing railroad repair shops to private individuals in order to evade the jurisdiction of the Railroad Labor Board.



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KANSAS CITY PACKING WORKERS STRIKE

Made by I. P. E. U. 5 1/6

Mayor Burton addressing workers as they drop tools in national walkout

The Clothing Workers

DURING the month the strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers against the reestablishment of piece work and of the forty-nine hour week was of outstanding importance in New York and other centers. A last minute attempt to avert the walk-out was made by twelve United States senators, but refusal of the employers to continue their old agreement made this attempt futile. This effort failing, the workers walked out of their shops on the morning of November 14. In late November, Messrs. Hillquit and Untermeyer, counsel for the union, secured a temporary injunction of a sweeping nature against the manufacturers' association, among the first of its kind in America.

Hillman Returns

MANY hundreds of members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America were on hand to greet their President, Sidney Hillman, on his return from Russia, on November 4. Mr. Hillman, who had exceptional opportunity to study conditions in Russia during his month's stay, thus described Russia's newer developments: "The new economic policy of the government seeks to leave with the government as many enterprises as it is capable of handling, and to permit group and individual initiative to take care of the rest. It encourages new enterprises. It places the individual factory on the wage basis, instead of the old basis of rations. The old policy of suppressing all trade, of attempting to ration the whole nation and putting everybody in the employ of the government, failed because Russia has not the governing organization to run from one central point all the enterprises of the nation and to satisfy all the needs of the nation."

The communists contended, according to Hillman, that the old policy had been necessary to destroy the feudalistic system, to suppress counter revolution, and to insure complete control of the government by labor.

The Packers

WHILE the non-labor press is rejoicing in the fact that the "packing employees in 'plant congress' have cut their own pay," the unions in the packing industry have called a general strike.

In July the packers asked for a ten per cent wage reduction, but were defeated by a ruling of Judge Alschuler, of the Federal Court in Chicago, arbiter under the war-time agreement that remained in force until September. As soon as the agreement lapsed the packers declared war on the union and began to form "Employees' Conference Boards." In the middle of November they brought the question of wage reduction before these boards, and, on November 18, several of the boards of the "Big Five" agreed to the companies' proposals. Under the cut proposed, the more poorly paid workers, the women cleaners and laborers, who earned from \$2 to \$3.60, were cut about 60 cents a day, while the skilled workers, who earned from \$4 to \$6, received a cut of about 24 cents. The number of hours remained at 44 a week.

Amnesty

RECENT developments seem to justify the conviction," declares a dispatch in the New York Times, November 23, "that during the Christmas season a large proportion of those now serving sentences for violation of the espionage act and other war-time laws will be released. The question of the release of political prisoners, according to the Times, occupied at least one-half of the time of the cabinet at the November 22 session. "As the President views the matter," continues the report, "a syndicalist, an individual convicted of sabotage or who has advocated or participated in violent efforts to overthrow the government, does not come under the classification of the political prisoner. In his present state of mind he would take no step to commute sentences for such offenses." We are assured that

the Debs case will be among the first considered, that the cases of court-martialed soldiers will be reviewed, but that no general amnesty will be proclaimed.

On November 18, a delegation, headed by William Allen White and Rev. John A. Ryan, visited the President and pleaded for amnesty. In their petition they called attention to the fact that none of the political prisoners were guilty of an overt act against the law, or had they any connection with an enemy government, and 'the only charge against them was the mere expression of opinion or the espousal of an unpopular political or industrial philosophy. The continued imprisonment of these men is a grave reflection upon our cherished freedom of expression and reproach to our sense of justice, particularly since we long ago liberated active enemy agents, such as Von Rintelen and others, who bombed ships and committed crimes of the most serious nature.' The committee urged a general amnesty, not the passing on each individual case. A similar petition was submitted by a group of congressional medal men. These petitions were brought before congress by Representative London on the last day of the session.

On November 5, thousands of letters and telegrams were sent to Eugene V. Debs, still a prisoner in the Federal penitentiary, on his sixty-sixth birthday.

During the month the case against Rose Pastor Stokes was dismissed pursuant to orders from Washington.

Sacco-Vanzetti

NOT since the Mooney case has European labor been so aroused over an American trial as it has been over the conviction of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, charged with murder in the first degree. Demonstrations in behalf of the two convicted men have been held in Italy, France and other countries, and the American system of "justice" has been condemned in no uncertain terms. Argument for a new trial on the ground of gross irregularities in the rendering of the verdict has been completed.

Labor in Politics

LABOR, during the month, failed to make great headway in the municipal elections. In New York City, four minor parties made a particular bid for the labor vote. Of these the Socialists made the best showing. The vote cast for their principal candidates was approximately as follows: Judge Jacob Panken, candidate for Mayor, 83,209; Harriot Stanton Blatch, for Controller, 95,002; James Oneal, for President of the Board of Alderman, 100,915. This vote—about two-thirds of that cast in 1917—was from 7 to 8 per cent of the total for all parties.

The Farmer-Labor, the Workers' League (Communist), and the Socialist-Labor parties seem to have obtained a total of less than 10,000 votes.

On November 3, 1921, following recount proceedings that occupied 22 months, Algernon Lee and Edward F. Cassidy, Socialist candidates for the Board of Alderman, in New York City, were finally seated by that body. In November, 1919, Lee and Cassidy were elected Aldermen by a plurality of 368 and 165 respectively. Their opponents, however, were declared elected. The Socialists demanded a recount, and showed evidence of gross errors in the count. Month after month dragged by with-

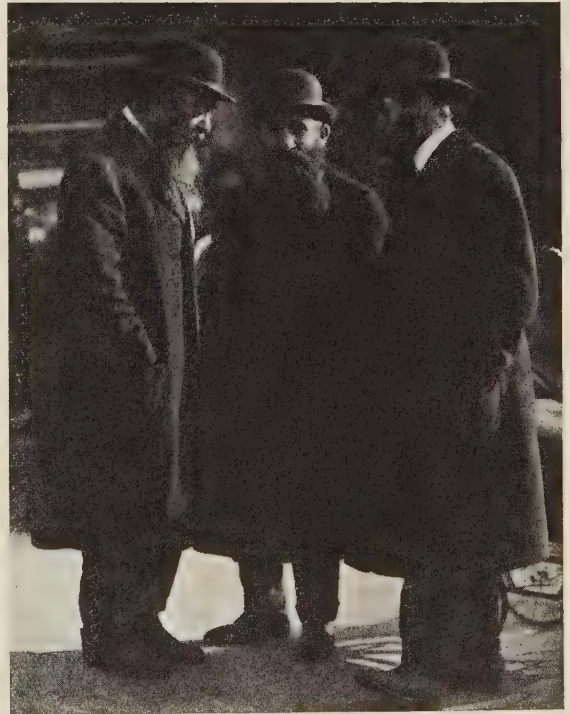
out any action, until the committee and board were spurred to action by a court order. The two Socialists were thus seated less than two months before the expiration of their terms.

A call was issued in November for a conference to be held in New York, December 23 to 26 to organize a Workers' Party of America, as a "legal Communist party" to aid in the establishment of "a workers' republic in America."

On November 21 a group of attorneys, declaring that they represented the taxpayers, submitted a petition to the State Supreme Court, urging the nullification of the recall election in North Dakota, on the ground that the petition for the recall was not signed by 30 per cent of the qualified voters who voted for Governor at the preceding election.

That several labor organizations had accepted the tentative invitation of the Socialist party to attend a conference to discuss methods of uniting radical and progressive labor forces in the country for common political action, was announced in late November at the Cleveland meeting of the Executive Committee of the Socialist party. Among these were the United Automobile Workers, the State Federations of Pennsylvania and Wisconsin, and the Central bodies of Milwaukee and Salt Lake City. Favorable replies were also received from officials of the Machinists, Painters and Hod Carriers' Unions.

Following the statement of Secretary Branstetter that certain progressive trade union officials were planning to



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THE OLD STAND WITH THE YOUNG
Aged cloak workers line up solidly with predominately young
and virile membership

LABOR AGE

call a conference of a similar nature in the near future, the Executive Committee passed a resolution, proposed by James H. Maurer, authorizing party members to attend any such conference. Such representatives, however, were not empowered to bind the party before reporting back.

Workers' Education

WITHIN a little more than a month the State Federations of Labor of Massachusetts and New Jersey have indorsed the principles of the Workers' Educational Movement and the service which is being conducted by the Workers' Education Bureau for trade union groups in different parts of the country. In the indus-

trial cities of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, in the East, and in some of the industrial centers in Wisconsin, particular interest has been aroused during the past few weeks in this problem.

The Workers' University, formed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers, held its fifth anniversary opening during the past month, with an increase in unity centers, added faculty staff and wider educational facilities for its members. When one reflects that the numbers of experiments increased by 50 per cent since the first national conference in April of this year, the evidence of steady growth becomes compelling.

Labor in Europe

NO one feature seems to have characterized labor in Europe during the early part of November. Of importance to British labor were the successful municipal elections and labor's approval of the proposed slice in naval armament. Russia quietly celebrated its fourth anniversary of the Revolution, and started, amid much suffering, on its new economic policy. The Belgian workers sent an increased representation to the Senate, and a somewhat smaller group to the lower house. The month in Italy was featured by protest strikes against the Fascisti and demonstrations in behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The French socialists made at least a slight advance toward solidarity, in their decision to form, if possible, an all inclusive Council of Labor. The workers of the central countries began to mobilize their forces to prevent any overt attack on republican institutions. Municipal elections, food riots and protests against the reactionary program of Stinnes and others were features of the German labor situation. Throughout the continent the labor movement remains at a high tension, as it faces a winter which promises nothing but misery for thousands of workers.

Great Britain

THE British Labor party on November 19 issued a manifesto welcoming and accepting "wholeheartedly the program of substantial and progressive reductions proposed by the United States at the opening of the present conference," and promising to support "any measures necessary on the side of Great Britain for giving effect to these proposals."

The document also declared in favor of a satisfactory settlement with Ireland, which would safeguard the Ulster faction and English security. It favored equality of economic opportunity, "whether in Africa, the Mesopotamian oil fields, or the Panama zone." It condemned the Anglo-Japanese treaty and declared that "under no circumstances could labor contemplate being dragged into war with America. Labor holds that, since both Japan and Great Britain are both members of the existing League of Nations, the treaty of alliance should not be renewed."

A gigantic petition was circulated during the month in

labor circles by the "Hands Off Russia" committee, of which Smillie, Lansbury, and Turner are prominent members, demanding that Japan withdraw unconditionally.

In the municipal elections held throughout Great Britain on November 1, the Labor party made a net gain of 76 in municipal councillors. In commenting on the elections, the London *Herald* emphasized the fact that the Liberals and Tories united in many cases against labor, and declared that, "in a straight fight between labor and landlordism the battle is going, slowly, but none the less surely, to the democratic army." On November 11, Labor elected 15 out of the 28 Mayors in the various London boroughs.

France

A STEP toward unity of action on the part of the socialist and communist forces of the world was taken at the First Annual Congress of the French Socialist party, which concluded its sessions on November 1. The Congress, after a somewhat stormy debate, adopted a resolution calling for the creation of a Committee of Action, which would include socialist and communist organizations affiliated with Moscow, Vienna and the Second International, as well as parties at present unaffiliated. The purpose of such a committee would be to organize the working class of the world for common action on the economic and political fields, particularly in the event of threatened war.

The Congress also urged greater co-operation within the Vienna Union to which the French party belonged, suggesting that the Parliamentary groups in this organization organize an Inter-Parliamentary Committee for the purpose of exchanging information and preparing legislative measures to be placed simultaneously before their respective parties. It reaffirmed its stand against collaboration with other political parties, but left its members free, on the second ballot, to vote for any candidate whose election might assure the defeat of capitalist reaction. Jean Longuet was among the leaders of the movement for unity.

The Congress was attended by 310 delegates, representing a membership of 55,000, as against 130,000 claimed by the communists. The German Independent Socialist, Ledebour, who was present at the sessions.

took occasion to declare his faith in the German Chancellor Wirth, whom he quoted as saying: "I do not wish a class war, but if it becomes inevitable I shall be on the side of the workers." He criticised the German communists for having deleted the plank from their platform calling for the nationalization of the mines.

* * *

THE Communist Deputies in the French Chamber precipitated a near-riot on November 22 by their declaration that the President and the Ministers were guilty of high treason in their conduct toward Russia. The controversy resulted from a dispute over Marty and Badina, two Communist sailors who had recently been elected to the Paris Municipal Council. These had taken part in the Black Sea mutiny in 1919, when ordered to fire on the Bolsheviks. They had been arrested and sent to prison. After their election the communists insisted that they be released, but the cabinet had thus far failed to act on the case. Marcel Cachin, the leader of the Communist Deputies, asked for an immediate discussion of the affair. The Minister of Justice and temporary leader of the Government during Briand's absence, wanted it postponed, but the Communists insisted on action. The accusations of Cachin, Berthon and L'Ent led to demands that they withdraw from the chamber, to the singing of the Internationale by the Communists and of the Marseillaise by the Government forces, to wild disorder, and finally to the closing of the session.

On October 23 tens of thousands of communists held demonstrations in the vicinity of the American Embassy against the conviction in America of the two Italian communists.

Belgium

THE Socialist Party in Belgium increased its Senate representation as a result of the national elections of November 20, although losing slightly to the Catholic party in the Chamber. The elections resulted in the selection of 52 Socialist Senators, as opposed to 11 in 1919, and 66 members of the Lower Chamber (30 per cent of the total), as opposed to 70. The Catholic party elected 81, a gain of 8; the Liberals, 34, the same as 1919, and other parties 5. In both houses the "Left"—the Socialists and Liberals—have a majority. Prior to 1919 the Socialists had 40 representatives. The increase of Socialist Senators this year is due to the removal of certain property qualifications. The party platform this fall included the following planks: Limitation of military service to six months; socialization of the railroads, mines, electric power supply and insurance; compulsory technical training from 14 to 18 years of age; regulation of home employment and special taxation of profits.

Italy

IN mid-November the Italian workers in Rome instituted a general strike as a protest against the Fascisti convention in that city. For some days the city was left without transportation or lights, and the convention of the Fascisti was left in darkness. In local en-

counters between the Fascisti and the Socialists and Communists many were killed and wounded.

The Italian Socialist party, in its October Convention (October 10-14) in Milan, decided, by a vote of 19,916 to 47,628, not to collaborate with a non-Socialist government, and, by a vote of about 75,000 to 4,000, to remain united despite internal differences. The delegates expressed their willingness to join the Third International again, although the party had been expelled from that body for failure to force the resignation of Serrati and others. Turati led the collaborationists, Serrati, the Maximalists (the majority group), and Lazzari, the Extremists, who will be represented in the Communist International. Clara Zetkin, from Germany, was unable to induce the last group to leave the party. The delegates declared that those favoring collaboration were advocating views incompatible with party principles. Following the convention, the Executive Committee renewed its alliance with the Confederazione Generale de Lavoro, providing that, in all matters concerning the labor movement, the party be guided by the unions, and in political matters, the union be guided by the party.

Germany

WITH a view to mobilizing the forces of labor against any future attempt of the monarchist forces to overthrow republican institutions in Central Europe, the Executive Committees of the Socialist parties of Germany, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia have recently agreed on a program of joint action in case of need. Their declaration states that it is the common interest of the workers of all of these countries to maintain their republican constitutions "by all parliamentary and non-parliamentary means." It calls upon the workers to use their full parliamentary strength to combat counter revolutionary movements, and to hold their governments responsible for any failure to act. It expects "that the working classes themselves will hold the whole power of their political and economic organizations in readiness for the purpose of resisting the return of the dynasties, bearing with them the curse of the war, and the re-establishment of militarism and of the system of political and social oppression."

Russia

ON NOVEMBER 7, all Russia quietly celebrated the fourth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution. Communists throughout Russia spent the day in demonstrating the need for the new economic policy. A few days before the celebration Tchitcherin, Commissar of Foreign Affairs, announced that Russia would recognize the debts contracted under the Czar, providing other governments concluded peace with Russia and recognized the Soviet Government. In his speech of October 21 before the Second Congress of the Workers for Political Education, Lenin, in outlining the new policy, declared that it was "impossible to attain even the lowest development of Communism without first going through a period of Socialist control and Socialist experience."

British Labor Solves the Housing Problem

Workers' Building Guilds Cut High Costs by Doing Jobs Themselves

By G. D. H. COLE

IN JANUARY, 1920, the trade unionists in the building trades of Manchester met together in a conference and determined to form a Building Guild. This decision marks the beginning of a movement which has since spread over the whole of Great Britain, and has resulted in the formation of considerably more than a hundred Building Guild Committees, linked together in a single National Guild for the building industry. There are, moreover, already indications that the movement towards workers' control in industry, which the Manchester building operatives inaugurated, is not to stop short at this point. Guilds are already being formed and are getting to work in a number of other industries; and the plan of guild organization is being vigorously taken up by many sections in the trade union world.

In order to explain the origin of this movement, it is necessary to go back some years. For the decision to form an actual guild was the result of a propaganda which had been proceeding in the trade union world for some time. Guild Socialism, or National Guilds, first began to be talked about during the years of acute labor unrest which preceded the war. At that time the workers of Great Britain, disillusioned with the results of political action, and conscious that their real wages were growing less in face of the rise in the cost of living, turned to industrial action, and there occurred a great revival of trade union activity. In this revival, men's minds turned to constructive thinking about the possibility of using the trade union movement not merely as an instrument of defense against capitalist abuses, but also as the basis of an organization designed to replace capitalism. "Workers' control in industry" began to be a frequent subject of discussion, and the views of the industrial unionists of America and the syndicalists of France were widely canvassed in trade union circles. Out of these discussions arose the idea of Guild Socialism which spread among the militant trade unions.

Workers' control, however, did not seem much nearer to practical realization. Most advocates

of Guild Socialism still assumed, in 1919, that guild organizations would become possible only with the overthrow of capitalism, or, under capitalism, by a gradual transference of power in capitalist businesses from the employers and their representatives into the hands of the trade unions. This transference it was hoped to achieve by methods of "encroaching control," by the consolidation of the workshop movement and the assumption of control in the workshop, and thereafter, by gradual accretions of power which would progressively drive the capitalist from his privileged position in industrial administration and would finally make his complete expropriation possible.

It was left to the building operatives of Manchester to point out another way and actually to take the positive step of forming, under capitalism, a guild organization essentially complete in itself and based on the immediate and full assumption of the right to industrial self-government.

Manchester's Answer to the Housing Shortage

In 1919, everyone was talking of the acute shortage of houses. The Government, at the General Election of 1918, had pledged itself to a great program of house-building; and the time was not yet ripe, although it soon became ripe, for the open repudiation of this pledge. There had been much delay; but the housing program was slowly getting under way in face of two considerable difficulties. The first of these was the extraordinary high price demanded by contractors for the erection of houses, and by merchants for the materials required in building. The second was the shortage of labor, and the diversion of much of the available labor by the building employers to luxury work, which was regarded as likely to prove more profitable than the building of working-class houses.

In these circumstances, the building operatives of Manchester, having determined to form a guild organization, came forward, and made to the Manchester City Council the offer that they would both find all the labor necessary for the erection

of the houses which the Council required, and erect these houses without a penny of profit; organizing their own labor for the purpose, and doing the work absolutely at cost price. Other guild organizations, which sprung up in many other parts of the country within a month or two of the formation of the Manchester Guild, made the same offer to the local authorities in their areas. The matter was widely discussed in the press. The building employers and many of the commentators affected to treat the proposal as a joke, and prophesied a rapid collapse, owing to lack of discipline and restricted output, of any attempt at self-government or control of the job by the building operatives.

The operatives, however, persisted in their offers to the various municipal authorities. These, under the conditions of the Government's housing program, were not in a position to hand over the work to the building guilds without the sanction of the Government Department responsible for housing work—the Ministry of Health.

The Ministry of Health appeared to regard it as extraordinary that anybody should object to making a profit, and persistent efforts were made to compel the guilds to copy the methods of capitalist industry by tendering at fixed prices, and retaining as a profit any surplus which they might realize by reducing the costs of production. To this, however, the guild spokesmen absolutely refused to agree; and finally, the resistance of the Ministry of Health was worn down, and an agreement as to the basis on which contracts might be accepted by local authorities was arrived at.

Why the Guilds Outdo Private Builders

What primarily interests the outsider is to get houses built at such a cost that they can be let at reasonable rents. Only if he believes that the Guilds are likely to build better and at less cost than the private contractor will he be prepared to take any interest in the methods and forms of Guild organization. It can be said with confidence that of the contracts now proceeding every one has shown a substantial saving both on the original estimates submitted by the Guilds, and still more on the cost of similar houses erected by private contractors. Moreover, there is general testimony from inspectors and surveyors who have had the task of overseeing the work on behalf of the local authorities and of the government, that the quality of the Guild work is considerably superior to that of most work executed by contract.

It is therefore well worth while, from the point

of view of the public, both in Great Britain and in other countries, to look into the organization and principles of the Building Guilds, for the purpose of ascertaining how it is that the Guilds appear to be able to produce more cheaply and better than the private contractor. The answer of Guildsmen to the question: "How are you able to do this?" is that it is mainly because they have brought a new set of industrial motives into play. Capitalism, they hold, has never given the worker a good enough reason for doing his best, and has never provided conditions under which men will do their best. Under capitalist conditions, building is carried on for private profit. Preference is given, not to the work which is most necessary, but to that which is expected to result in the maximum profit to the employer. This being so, it is impossible for the building trade operative to regard his work as a form of social service. He feels that he is merely an instrument which the employer is using for purposes of personal profit. He therefore sees no reason why he should do his best; and often, if he does not actually restrict output (a phenomenon the prevalence of which is much exaggerated), still he and his fellows engaged on the job do not cooperate in that harmonious manner which is essential if full efficiency is to be secured. The foremen and managers are regarded as representatives of the employer and not as fellow-workers fulfilling a distinct function. There is a constant tug-of-war proceeding on the job; and this tug-of-war is fatal to efficiency. The first condition of good workmanship is that each operative should have the sense that his work is being directed to a good social use.

This, however, is not by itself enough to secure the benefits at which Guildsmen aim. The worker must also, if he is to do his best, be given freedom and responsibility in the organization of his job. He must be trusted to carry out the job well, and he must have the sense that the making or marring of it lies in his own hands and is under his own control. He must feel, that is to say, that it is up to him to do the job properly. Thirdly, as I have already explained, it is essential that he should have some measure of security, and a recognized status in the industry for which he is working. This is secured by the methods of "continuous pay," which makes the Guildsman feel that he belongs to the industry, and the industry to him, and that his status as a member of a self-governing organization of producers is fully recognized.

(This introductory article is the first of a series by Mr. Cole)

Free the I. W. W.'s, Mr. President

By PAUL F. BRISENDEN

CONGRESSIONAL
HONOR MEN



Who Pleaded
With President for
General Amnesty

Underwood and Underwood

Made by I. P. E. U., 546

CHRISTMAS is almost here—the season when the President extends pardons to a list of federal prisoners. Word has come out of Washington, printed in all the newspapers of the country, that a number of political prisoners are to be freed this year. This is great news. For, America is the only country which has not released its war-time prisoners, and American labor has been united on no demand more than this one: that all political prisoners be set free. There is but one bad thing in the news, and that is the hint that the I. W. W.'s may not be included. They, certainly, should also be let out.

In the prosecution of these political cases—of actual or alleged pacifists, conscientious objectors, pro-Germans, and I. W. W.'s—our Government moved with a ruthlessness which would have made the old Prussians hang their heads in shame. Dean Pound of Harvard Law School says that American prosecutions today have come to be conducted with a ferocity such as can only be found back in the days of the Stuarts in England, three hundred years ago. For example, listen to the words used by the prosecutor in a war-time trial in the south: "She is a Negro. Look at her skin; if she is not a Negro, I don't want you to convict her."

For "Negro" substitute "Wobbly," and you have a pretty accurate idea of the view back of the prosecutions of "I. W. W. conspiracy" and "criminal syndicalism" cases. The most famous of these cases—that of the *United States vs. William D.*

Haywood, et al., has run the gamut of our courts. Only a short time ago, the newspapers carried the announcement that the United States Supreme Court had denied an appeal for the review of the Kansas City I. W. W. case. In April the same disposition was made of the cases of the Chicago I. W. W.'s (the Haywood group, which now numbers 69 actually in prison). As a result of these trials, and the one at Sacramento, there are at present 103 members, or alleged members, of this organization serving time in the federal prison at Leavenworth.

Behind Stone Walls for Opinion

Now, why are these men behind stone walls? The answer is simple: Because of their opinions! That sounds strange indeed in America, which before the Great War was regarded as a place of refuge for political offenders. But the issue in the Chicago, Kansas City and Sacramento cases stands now more than ever clearly revealed as a political and free speech issue. The jury convictions did include counts which charged acts against the government, it is true, but most of such charges were thrown out by higher courts.

These three cases were, therefore, put in the same class as that of Eugene V. Debs and other prisoners imprisoned for opinion. There can be no excuse for their remaining longer where they are, except that reaction has choked off America's old ideals of freedom.

Look at the facts in the Chicago case, in which Haywood and 92 others were convicted. The indictment against the defendants in this case

charged them with "conspiring": first, to prevent the enforcement of the Selective Service Act, the Espionage and other war-time laws; second, to interfere with the selling of munitions to the Government; third, to discourage draft registration and encourage desertion; fourth, to cause "insubordination" in military and naval forces, and, fifth, to defraud employers by depositing propaganda in the mail (!) The number of offenses charged against the "Wobblies" were no less than 17,000.

Was the I. W. W. on Trial?

Technically, the I. W. W. organization was not on trial in this case. Indeed, seventeen of those indicted were not members of the I. W. W. at the time of the indictment; and, of these, eleven had never belonged to the organization. The indictment was specifically against the defendants personally.

Yet, in a very real sense, the I. W. W. *was* on trial. The indictment itself devotes two or three pages to a characterization of it and to a picturesque array of its propaganda catchwords, on the theory, apparently, that the organization was a tool used by the defendants in furtherance of the "conspiracy." Moreover, in the trial itself the great bulk of the testimony dealt with the philosophy and tactics of the I. W. W. and not with the defendants. Most of the evidence concerned the activities and doctrines of the organization during the twelve years before the passage of the war laws which the Government charged they violated. Judge Landis ruled that evidence of these activities and doctrines of years ago was admissible as showing the defendants' "frame of mind," that is, intent. He was later overruled in this by the higher court.

The Evidence

The character of the indictment and the general run of the evidence make the conclusion inescapable that, had the same evidence been brought forward against a hundred men who were not members of the I. W. W., they would almost certainly have been acquitted. At least one might safely bet that whatever the verdict, jurors of a saner season would have spent more than fifteen seconds in meditation on the evidence against each defendant!

Quite apart from the character of the indictment and the methods used to get the evidence there remains the very important question: Was the evidence, however secured, sufficient to warrant a conviction?

In counts three and four of the indictment, the defendants were charged with conspiring to procure desertions from, and prevent registration in, the army and navy of the United States, and in both counts, immediately preceding the statement of the nature of the conspiracy charged, the indictment emphasizes the affiliation of the defendants with the I. W. W.

The wording of the indictment can mean only one thing: that the mere act of joining the I. W. W. implied that the defendants were animated *with a special purpose* to obstruct war activities. But all of the defendants who were Wobblies—and most of them were—had joined the organization long before April 6, 1917, when it was impossible for them to have entertained "the special purpose" of violating certain laws yet to be passed. This was the vicious circle in which the prosecution moved. It was indeed not able to use I. W. W. membership in any direct way as evidence of guilt, but immediately faced about and used the fact of membership to prove criminal intent, saying in effect: "defendants must have had such intent, they are I. W. W.'s and therefore would have had no other intent."

The I. W. W. Strikes

Even though such a volume of testimony and such an array of propaganda material, by its very repetition of unpopular beliefs, might influence a juror to think that *probably* the defendants were guilty, that would of course be quite insufficient for a conviction in law. The evidence must indicate *beyond a reasonable doubt* that the defendants agreed together to carry out the special purpose set forth in the indictment. If the juror can honestly say: "I think it is quite possible that, in view of the evidence presented, these defendants might have been animated by another purpose," he is under obligation to return a verdict of "not guilty."

The record of the activities of the I. W. W. since 1905 shows that their acts, that is to say, strikes, as distinguished from talk and leaflets, have invariably resulted from social or economic injustice, and were generally calculated to correct such injustices as low wages, long hours, insanitary work places, or the railroading of a Mooney to a penitentiary. *The evidence presented fails to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that either the defendants' acts or words were done or uttered with intent to accomplish the objects charged in the indictment.*

The indictment in the case sets forth certain

"overt acts" which it alleges were done by the defendants to give effect to the conspiracy. Twenty such acts are enumerated. Nine of the twenty acts are publications of propaganda.

"Overt Acts"

Under the law, there can be no proof of an overt act until there is proof of the conspiracy to which the overt act gives effect. As already remarked, nearly half of the overt acts were publications of propaganda. These publications included the I. W. W. *Preamble, Sabotage*, a translation of a book by the French syndicalist, Emil Pouget, and several editorials and other articles from the official I. W. W. newspaper called *Solidarity*. The I. W. W. *Preamble* and Pouget's book were circulated throughout the country for years prior to 1917. The charge in the present case is, of course, that they were distributed by the defendants during the period covered by the indictment. There appears to be no doubt that they and the *Solidarity* articles were so circulated. But if there was no conspiracy, the listing of a thousand "overt acts" would be meaningless.

The other overt acts consisted of letters and telegrams sent or received by the defendants during the period of the indictment. A local union in Kansas passed a resolution to resist conscription and wires Haywood it has done so. An organizer on the Pacific Coast urges a general strike unless men arrested for not registering are released by a given time.

On the basis of one interpretation an act might further a conspiracy, as was charged, if proved. On

the basis of another interpretation it would not. Anyway, strikes are not illegal, even in war time. The purpose underlying the strike, moreover, is nearly always to secure better wages, shorter hours and better living conditions generally. If this is its purpose, the fact that the interests of the Government in carrying on war are injured, does not make the strike a violation of law. Even though the I. W. W. was thus within its rights in striking (as it has been striking, off and on, for 15 years) it appears to have been much more successful in cutting down its war-time strikes than most other labor organizations.

As a matter of fact, Government statistics show that I. W. W. strikes fell off in number 75 per cent from 1917 to 1918, while the total number of strikes in the whole country fell off only 25 per cent. Even at that, in 1918, only 69 strikes were charged up against the I. W. W. as against 3232 charged up against other labor organizations. These latter, of course, were not prosecuted for conspiracy to obstruct the war.

Knowing these facts, no fair-minded man would say that these men should remain in prison. In a free country there are no prisoners because of forbidden opinions. Men can think as they see fit. If men can be put behind the bars for preaching I. W. W.ism, they can some other day be treated in the same way for preaching labor unionism of any kind. America must win back its old freedom. The voice of Labor points the way to President Harding for Christmas day: "Free all political prisoners, Mr. President! Free the I. W. W.'s!"

E E E

Statement of ownership, management, circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of The LABOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1921, State of New York, County of New York.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Harry W. Laidler, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE LABOR AGE and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, The Labor Publication Society, approximate membership, 125, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C.; Editors, Prince Hopkins, Harry W. Laidler, 41 Union Square, N. Y. City; Managing Editors, Harry W. Laidler, Prince Hopkins, 41 Union Square, N. Y. City; Business Manager, Louis F. Budenz, 41 Union Square, N. Y. C.

2. That the owners are: The Labor Publication Society, approximate membership, 125, 41 Union Square, N. Y. City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, Harry W. Laidler, 41 Union Square, N. Y. City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 41 Union Square, N. Y. City.

(Since this was sworn to, the officers have been arranged as per the list on Page ii)

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: There are no bondholders, mortgagees or other security holders.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 11th day of October, 1921.

(Seal)

HARRY W. LAIDLER, Editor.
WALTER C. CAMPBELL,
Notary Public, Westchester County
(My commission expires March 30, 1922)

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS and HARRY W. LAIDLER

THE trade union movement in this country has hitherto neglected the pamphleteering method. This defect is fortunately being remedied. Last spring the Amalgamated led off with a significant series of educational pamphlets written by Messrs. Schlossberg, Blanshard and others. This fall District No. 2 of the United Mine Workers, under the presidency of John Brophy, is following with a remarkable group. The first two in this series are "Why the Miners' Program?" and "Government by Coal" (obtained from Bureau of Industrial Research, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City).

"The Miners' Program" describes the plan for nationalization unanimously adopted by 43,000 miners last February, and the methods of its realization, through pamphlets, classes, a labor paper, facts. "Government by Coal" is a powerful indictment of the economic and human wastes of the profit system in the coal industry, and a demand that coal producing be regarded as a public utility. The two pamphlets, closely reasoned and written in clear, concise, chaste English, are among the most effective pieces of educational propaganda for social ownership to be found in this country.

* * *

THE last year has witnessed a remarkable awakening to the possibilities of workers' education in America. The first source book on this subject is the "Report of the Proceedings of the First National Conference on Workers' Education in the United States," issued by the Workers' Education Bureau of America, (465 West 23d Street, N. Y., 1921, 139pp). The report, edited by Spencer Miller, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Frank Anderson and others, is a human document of intense interest. Students in workers' classes, teachers and labor leaders here tell of the development of this movement, the problems it raises and its future possibilities. James H. Maurer, John Brophy, Samuel Gompers, Fannia Cohn, Abraham Epstein, Paul Blanshard, Bertha Mailly, Algeron Lee, J. M. Budish, Joseph Schlossberg, J. B. Salutsky, H. W. L. Dana and Alexander Fichandler, are but a few who contribute to its pages.

Supplementing, and, in a way, summarizing, this report, comes the revised edition of Arthur Gleason's excellent pamphlet on "Workers' Education" (N. Y.: Bureau of Industrial Research). This pamphlet briefly sets forth the actual achievements of workers' education in this country, gives something of the background of the movement abroad, and discusses the difference between the ideals and methods of labor education and those of public school instruction. The movement is fortunate in possessing this statement.

* * *

TO those interested in the ingenious schemes by which liberal employers have enlisted the loyalty and efficiency of their employees, the volume on "Industrial Government" by John R. Commons and other members of the Department of Economics of the University of Wisconsin (N. Y., Macmillan, 1921, 418 pp.), is most

illuminating. The book analyzes conditions in more than thirty American establishments. The latter half of the book sets forth collective agreements between employers and the unions which, the authors claim, have worked out to the advantage of both.

Less closely related to the labor movement than the foregoing are the works of Upton Sinclair, "The Book of Life" (Pasadena, Calif.; the author, 1921, 197 pp.), and the "New Horizon," by Mrs. Havelock Ellis (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1921, 195 pp.).

In "The Book of Life" Mr. Sinclair gives broad common sense answers to those major questions of philosophy which have troubled thinkers of every generation, and to specific questions on daily living, about which, as he states, thousands of correspondents are constantly asking him. From his own life, crowded with experiments and experiences, Sinclair draws forth a wealth of pertinent material that gives this book the personal interest and easy narrative style of a biography.

"The New Horizon" shows that many of the conventions which we regard as too sacred to question are really but stagnant eddies in the stream of human progress. The book is too sanely written to be offensive. It errs, however, on the side of generality and is likely to appear too "high brow" to the average reader. Yet it is only to the ordinary person, who hasn't read much of Edward Carpenter and the Ellises, that the "horizon" presented in this book will come as a "new" experience.

Of fascinating interest to the student of international problems is the "History of Imperialism" by Irwin St. John Tucker (N. Y.: Hanford Press, 1920, 400 pp.). The author seeks in this meaty volume to make history of gripping interest to the worker, and succeeds, to a great extent, in his attempt.

* * *

TWO volumes on socialism have recently been issued by American publishers. The first, "The Larger Socialism," by Bertram Benedict (N. Y.: Macmillan, 1921, 243pp.) is written from the standpoint of a Socialist party member who is critical of some of the Marxian theories and of some of the tactics of the Socialist party. Throughout the book emphasis is laid on the need for a larger ethical appeal in the movement. The author's discussion of production under socialism is especially suggestive. The book presents a challenge that should be met.

From the standpoint of a belligerent opponent of socialism, Professor James Edward Le Rossignol of the University of Nebraska, has issued another volume under the title, "What Is Socialism." (N. Y.: Crowell & Co., 1921, 261 pp.)

The attitude of the author is made clear in his statement that "fallacy and half-truth pervades every part [of the Marxian system] and that the entire system, . . . is a mere caricature of the industrial world as it is." The strange thing is, that, with all of these exposés of socialism, the movement still goes on and increase in power from day to day!

A HOLIDAY SUGGESTION

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"THE WAYS OF THE GODS"

By ALGERNON SIDNEY CRAPSEY

Of "The Rise of the Working Class," Charles Edward Russell says—"It will always be the great authority on the subject of which it treats." It is the story of the rise of the working class from slavery to political power. Written just before the great war, published at its outbreak, it prophesied concerning the next conflict. Many of these prophesies are now history. It is used in colleges as a reference book on the subject of social evolution. Retail Price.....\$2.00

"The Ways of the Gods" is the first effort in literary history to interpret religion by the principle of economic determinism. John Haynes Holmes says in "Unity"—"The book is a terrific challenge to the religious knowledge and ideals of the modern world. It should be not only tasted and swallowed, but chewed and digested—to quote the familiar Baconian phrase—by every open-minded man."

The Medical World of Philadelphia says of this book—"Students of history and religion will find this a very interesting volume; a wonderful story of mass psychology. It is marked by clear reasoning, thoughtfulness, and a distinct effort to find the truth of the matter discussed."

From "The Boston Globe"—"The Ways of the Gods" gives in brief form the lives of the various Gods and the worship of ancient and modern times. Written in simple English, the book is in reality the romance of the Gods, and apart from the information it provides, it is an entrancing story."

Dr. D. S. Muzzey, writing of this book, says—"One could hardly surmise from the cryptic title of Dr. Crapsey's book the delightful revelation of its contents. It is an extended historical commentary, rich in apposite illustration, and convincing in humanitarian fervor of the Ingersollian text: "An honest God is the noblest work of man. Retail Price.....\$2.50

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